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PROCEEDINGS AND TRANSACTIONS

of the

ALL INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE

FIFTEENTH SESSION

BOMBAY

November, 1949

Published by
The Local Secretary,
C/o The BBRA. Society, Town Hall,
BOMBAY 1

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All India Oriental Conference, 15th Session, Bombay

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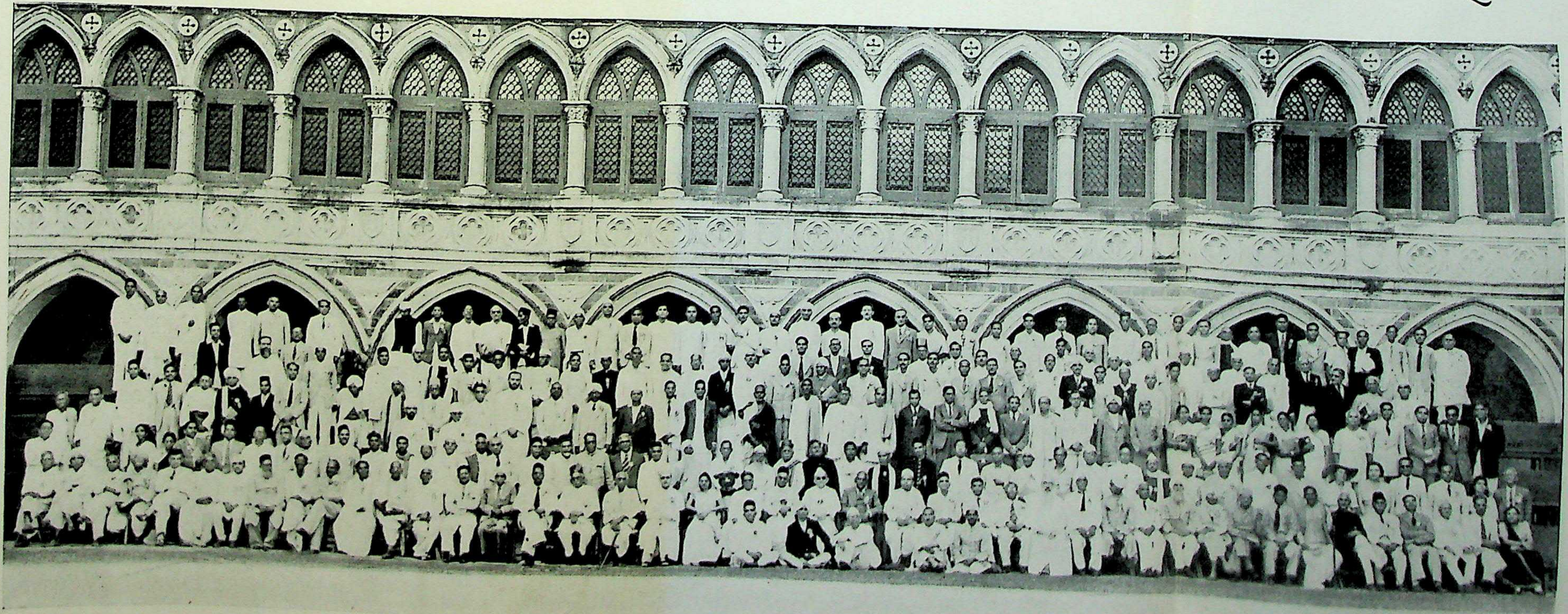
THE ALL INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE

15th SESSION, BOMBAY

1949



ALL INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE 15th SESSION, BOMBAY.

I. Local Organization.

(i) A Brief Report

At the 14th Session of the All India Oriental Conference held in October 1948 at Darbhanga, Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. P. V. Kane gave an invitation to the Authorities of the Conference to hold their 15th Session in Bombay in November 1949. The invitation was given on behalf of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society and the University of Bombay. The invitation was accepted and on Friday the 10th December 1948 Dr. Kane, as the Vice-President of the Society and the Vice-Chancellor of the University, called a meeting of persons interested in the holding of the session, at the Bombay University Buildings. At this meeting a provisional committee of about 20 members and the office-bearers were appointed. This committee was to look after the preliminary work before the formation of the regular Reception Committee. The fee for the membership of the Reception Committee was fixed at Rs. 15/- only at the meeting.

Three meetings of this Provisional Committee were held when the two Vice-Presidents were elected and the date of the first meeting of the Reception Committee was fixed when about 50 members for the same had been enrolled. This first meeting of the Reception Committee was held on the 17th March 1949, when a Local Executive Committee of 20 members with power to co-opt was appointed to do all the work in connection with the holding of the session.

The Local E. Committee held five meetings before the Session. They appointed mainly from among their own members nine sub-committees with conveners for making arrangements in connection with (1) collecting of funds, (2) holding of an exhibition ; (3) boarding and lodging of members ; (4) entertainments and excursion ; (5) transport and reception ; (6) papers and meetings ; (7) volunteers ; (8) decoration and accommodation ; and (9) publicity. It was found that the holding of a separate Pandita Pariṣad was not feasible owing to financial and other serious difficulties. But it was resolved to invite distinguished Pandits from the city of Bombay and its suburbs to attend the Conference as members without paying the prescribed fees of Rs. 10/- and also to request the Pathashalas and the Madressas to send their representatives to attend and take part in the deliberations of the Conference. Five additional sections for the local languages were sanctioned by the President of the Conference at the request of the Local E. Committee. Presidents for these sections were then appointed by the authorities of the Conference and the dates of the session namely, the 5th, 6th and 7th of November 1949 were finally fixed in consultation with the latter. His Excellency the Governor of Bombay kindly consented to inaugurate the Proceedings of the Conference.

Arrangements for the boarding and lodging of the outside members of the Conference, numbering about 80, were made at the St. Xavier's College hostel for students. Those who could make their own arrangements with their friends in the city were requested to do so. Members at the College Hostel Camp were charged Rs. 20/- and Rs. 30/- respectively for vegetarian and non-vegetarian meals, no fees being charged for lodging. Members of the Executive Committee of the Conference and the Section Presidents were invited to be the guests of the Reception Committee. The Section Presidents were accommodated at the Colege Hostel Camp, while arrangements for the lodging of the General President, the Vice-President, the office-bearers and the members of the Execuive Committee of the Conference were made at the new building of the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavana, Chowpaty, which was kindly placed at the disposal of the Local E. Committee by Shri K.M. Munshi for that purpose.

The Local E. Committee issued an Appeal for funds, invitations to Governments, Universities and Institutions to send their delegates to the Conference, and also three bulletins containing information about the 15th session for the use of the prospective and the actual members (See Appendices I—VI). The list of individual invitees was prepared with the help of the lists of the actual members given in the Proceedings of three earlier sessions, viz., Hyderabad (1941), Benares (1943), and Nagpur (1946). In spite of great care, however, some omissions due to oversight did take place and these are deeply regretted.

On the eve of the session, the Local E. Committee published for the use of the members a guide to Bombay, Summaries of Papers, and a Pamphlet containing Useful Information and Programme. These were distributed free to the members on their arrival ; but owing to a break in arrangements for their distribution due to sudden illness of the Local Secretary, members at the College Hostel Camp could not get them in time, which is deeply regretted.

The Local E. Committee elected ten members to the Council of the Conference in accordance with Rule 10 (b) (i). The names will be found at p. 41 in No. (11) of the Minutes of the Old Executive Committee. Similarly, secretaries were appointed for different sections. Shri P. K. Namjoshi with the help of his friend Shri Soman looked after all arrangements in connection with the Volunteer Organization. The work and behaviour of the volunteers were greatly appreciated by the guests. Even though all members of the Local Executive Committee worked equally hard, special mention deserves to be made of the Rev. Father Dr. Balaguer and Shri R. V. Dongre whose untiring efforts materially contributed to the comfort of the members and the success of the session.

(ii) LOCAL E. COMMITTEE

Chairman

Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. P. V. Kane, M.A. LL.M., D.Litt.,
Vice-Chancellor of the University of Bombay.

Vice-Chairmen

Dewan Bahadur K. M. Jhaveri, M.A., LL.B.
Shri K. M. Munshi, B.A., LL.B.

Treasurer

Professor G. C. Jhala, M.A.

Local Secretary

Professor H. D. Velankar, M.A.

Joint Secretaries

Professor G. M. Moraes, M.A.
Dr. A. D. Pusalkar, M.A., Ph.D.
Shri S. R. Tikekar.

Members of the Local Executive Committee

1. Prof. M. D. Altekar; 2. Shri R. P. Bakshi ; 3. Prof. R. R. Deshpande ; 4. Prof. B. R. Deodhar ; 5. Shri R. V. Dongre ; 6. Rev. Father Dr. Esteller ; 7. Dr. S. N. Gajendragadkar ; 8. Shri R. G. Gyani ; 9. Prof. M. M. Jhaveri ; 10. Mrs. Malti Jhaveri ; 11. Munishri Jinavijaya ; 12. Dr. P. M. Joshi ; 13. Dr. V. M. Kaikini ; 14. Prof. R. P. Kangle ; 15. Dr. H. R. Karnik ; 16. Prof. A. Lobo ; 17. Mrs. Lobo ; 18. Dr. D.D. Mehta ; 19. Prof. Miss K. K. Munshi ; 20. Prof. N. A. Nadvi; 21. Shri P. K. Namjoshi ; 22. Prof. R. V. Pathak ; 23. Dr. Manilal Patel ; 24. Prof. P. S. Sane ; 25. Shri C. J. Shah ; 26. Prof. K. M. Shembavanekar ; 27. Shri K. B. Sukthankar ; 28. Dr. I. J. S. Tarapurwala ; 29. Prof. T. K. Tope ; 30. Dr. J. M. Unwalla.

(iii) DONORS

1. The Trustees, N. M. Wadia Charities : Rs. 2,000/-; 2. The Government of Bombay : Rs. 1,500/-; 3. University of Bombay : Rs. 1000/-; 4. B.B.R.A. Society : Rs. 500/-; 5. Sir C. B. Mehta Welfare Trust : Rs. 500/-: 6. Seth Pranlal Devkaran Nanji : Rs. 500/-; 7. Seth Motiram Topiwala ; Rs. 500/- ; 8. Shri R. V. Dongre : Rs. 500/-; 9. Shri Maharaja of Bansda : Rs. 251/- ; 10. Mrs. Rajkumari Pitti : Rs. 251/-; 11. Shri Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan : Rs. 250/-; 12. A Sympathiser ; Rs. 250/-; 13. Shri Nandlal Ahamedabadi : Rs. 151/-; 14. Shri C. J. Shah Charities : Rs. 150/-; 15. Shri B. S. Dabke : Rs. 125/-; 16. Shri M. D. Bhat : Rs. 125/-; 17. Shri J.M. Dalal : Rs. 101/-; 18. Shri S. A. Deshpande : Rs. 101/-; 19. Divan Bahadur K.M. Jhaveri : Rs. 101/-; 20. Shri G.H. Pethe : Rs. 101/-; 21. Shri G. V. Puranik : Rs. 101/-; 22. Justice G. S. Rajadhyaksha : Rs. 101/-; 23. Shri Gatulal Shah : Rs. 101/-; 24. Shri S. C. Seth : Rs. 101/-; 25. Shri Kakasaheb Tambe : Rs. 101/-; 26. Dr. Bhonsale : 100/-; 27. Shri C.A. Buch : Rs. 100/-;

28 Shri J. G. Dalal : Rs. 100/-; 29. Shri I. N. Desai : Rs. 100/-; 30. Justice P.B. Gajendragadkar : Rs. 100/-; 31. Shri Y. A. Godbole : Rs. 100/-; 32. Dr. S. K. Gokhale : Rs. 100/-; 33. Shri R. N. Kamani : Rs. 100/-; 34. Shri K. M. Munshi : Rs. 100/-; 35. Shri M. R. Nanivadekar : Rs. 100/-; 36. Shiri Motilal Nialchand : Rs. 100/-; 37. Shri H. A. Shah : Rs. 100/- ; 38. Shri S. V. Sovani : Rs. 100/-; 39. Shri Y.D. Trivedi : Rs. 100/-; 40. Dr. B. G. Vad : Rs. 100/-; 41. Shri R.C. Dalal : Rs. 51 /-; 42. Shri V. S. Bhide : Rs. 51/-; 43. Shri P. B. Ganapule : Rs. 51/-; 44. Mrs. Malti Jhaveri : Rs. 51/-; 45. Shri K.H. Kabur : Rs. 51/-; 46. Shri A. S. Parikh : Rs. 51/-; 47. Dr. Bhaskar Patel : Rs. 51/-; 48. Shri R. P. Shah: Rs. 51-; 49. Shri N. K. Shahane : Rs. 51/-; 50. Shri Darbarsaheb Vadia : Rs. 51/-; 51. Shri P. N. Vaidya and Brothers : Rs. 51/-; 52. Shri B. S. Deckha : Rs. 50/-; 53. Justice R.A. Jahagirdar : Rs. 50/-; 54. Shri B. C. Kapadia : Rs. 50/-; 55. Shri Swami Kuvalayananda : Rs. 50/-; 56. Shri Rajguru R. H. Pandit : Rs. 50/- ; 57. Mrs. Mahabalkumari Shrinivasram : Rs. 50/-; 58. Shri N. S. Bathena : Rs. 25/-; 59. Shri V. J. Bhide : Rs. 25/-; 60. Shri D.G. Damle : Rs. 25/-; 61. Mrs. Mangala Desai : Rs. 25/-; 62. Mrs. Sita Gupta : Rs. 25/-; 63. Miss Meena Kappor : Rs. 25/-; 64. Shri Chinubhai Kilachand: Rs. 25/-; 65. Shri V.M. Mehta : Rs. 25/-; 66. Shri B. D. Mulgaonkar : Rs. 25/-; 67. Shri S. J. Pandya : Rs. 25/-; 68. Mrs. Kumudini Ranganekar : Rs. 25/-; 69. Shri J. K. Sawant : Rs. 25/-; 70. Shri P. G. Shah: Rs. 25/-; 71. Shri Ramnik Thanna : Rs. 25/-; 72. Shri V. P. Varde : Rs. 25/-; 73. Shri B. K. Wagle : Rs. 25/-; 74. Shri A. B. Agaskar: Rs. 21 /-.

(iv) Members of the Reception Committee.

(Paying Rs. 15/- each).

1. Shri Agaskar M. S. 2. Aiyer A. K. S. 3. Apte V. M. 4. Araokar L. K. 5. Asayckar A. S. 6. Athavle P. V. 7. Mrs. Athavle R. G. 8. Bakshi R. P. 9. Balaguer Father Dr. D. M. 10. Bapat V.M. 11. Belsare K.V. 12. Bhagwat M. L. 13. Bhagwat Mrs. M. M. 14. Bhagwat N. K. 15. Bhagwat Mrs. Vimal. 16. Bhalerao R. N. 17. Bhatia V. D. 18. Bhatt G.K. 19. Bhatt P. H. 20. Bhatt T. P. 21. Bhayani H. C. 22. Bhukhanwalla B. H. 23. Bhushan V. N. 24. Borgir D. A. 25. Broker Gulabdas. 26. Cardmaster S.B. 27. Chandavarkar G. L. 28. Chitale S. G. 29. Chitre K.V. 30. Chitre R.B. 31. Chokhsi K. M. 32. Contractor Miss Mani. 33. Coyne A. M. 34. Dalal L. R. 35. Dalal Suryakant. 36. Dar M. L. 37. Datar K. G. 38. Dave J.H. 39. Dave J. L. 40. Desai C. C. 41. Desai D. M. 42. Desai Miss Hemalata Y. 43. Desai Mrs. Mangala B. 44. Desai Miss S. V. 45. Desai V. S. 46. Deshpande B. B. 47. Deshpande M. V. 48. Deshpande R. R. 49. Devasthali G. V. 50. Dharap K. N. 51. Dighe V. G. 52. Dike G.N. 53. Dikshitar T.A.V. 54. Divatia Miss Sunayana. 55. Dongre R. V. 56. Dongerkery S. R. 57. D'Souza Alban. 58. Esteller Father A. 59. Fyzee A. A. A. 60. Gadgil D. D. 61. Gadre P. C. 62. Gajendragadkar S.N. 63. Gandekar P. W. 64. Gawankar S. Y. 65. Gharpure V. J. 66. Godivala R. C. 67. Gokhale B. G. 68. Gokhale B. N. 69. Gokuldas L. P. 70. Gore N. A. 71. Gorekar N. S. 72 Gupte G.S. 73. Gupte R. D. 74. Gyani R.G. 75. Hardikar Pandurangshastri. 76. Hariharan N. 77. Hatalkar V. G. 78. Hazrat Miss K. 79. Hazrat Miss M. 80. Heras Father H. 81 Hoshkeri D. S. 82. Hudlikar S.B. 83. Inamdar B. R. 84. Ishvardas Kisandas. 85. Jarivala A. B. 86 Jhala G. C. 87. Jhaveri D. B. 88. Jhaveri M. M.

89. Jhaveri Mrs. Malti. 90. Jhaveri Navanitalal. 91. Jhaveri Miss Nayana. 92. Joshi Ganeshshastri. 93. Joshi G.V. 94. Joshi K. K. 95. Joshi L. N. 96. Joshi P. M. 97. Joshi P. S. 98. Joshi Mrs. Susheela D. 99. Joshi S. G. 100. Juvale Y. M. 101. Kaikini Miss Prabibha. 102 Kaikini V. M. 103 Kaji Ashok H. 104 Kalapesi A.S. 105. Kale N. M. 106. Kale V. K. 107. Kamat V. H. 108 Kane P. V. 109. Kanga M. F. 110. Kangle R.P. 111. Kapadia D. H. 112. Karandikar Mrs. S. 113. Karandikar M. A. 114. Karandikar M.J. 115. Karandikar Mrs. K.M. 116. Karandikar Miss S. M. 117. Karandikar Miss Yamuna. 118. Karmarkar D. P. 119. Karnik H. R. 120. Karnik M. R. 121. Karnik Mrs. Ushadevi. 122. Karsandas P. 123. Karulkar G. G. 124. Kelkar D. K. 125. Kotak Vasant. 126. Kuvalayanand Swami. 127. Lakhpatvala J. N. 128. Lodaya Mrs. L. P. 129. Lokare Mrs. M. D. 130. Madani S.H. 131. Madbhavi G.R. 132. Madhavacharya Pandit. 133. Mahashabde M. V. 134. Mandlik Miss T. D. 135. Marshall D. N. 136. Masani Sir Rustum. 137. Mataprasad Dr. 138. Mehta Miss Anjani. 139. Mehta D.D. 140. Mehta Mohanlal 141. Mehta Miss Nirmala. 142. Mehta S. A. 143. Mehta V. C. 144. Mehta V. M. 145. Mistry Pheroz. 146. Mody G. D. 147. Moraes G. M. 148. Moses Angelo. 149. Muchhala Chandbhai. 150. Munshi Miss K. K. 151. Munshi K. M. 152. Munshi Mrs. Lilavati. 153. Nadvi N. A. 154. Naik Mohanlal. 155. Naithani S. S 156. Nalin Mrs. Indira. 157. Nandurdikar N. D. 158. Oza Bindubhai. 159. Padhye P. K. 160. Palekar B. B. 161. Palekar M. B. 162. Pandit Bhaskarrao. 163. Panse M. G. 164. Parab L. G. 165. Paradkar M. D. 166. Paranjpe S. M. 167. Parekh Miss Kanchan. 168. Parekh Miss Vasumati. 169. Parikh G. D. 170. Parikh O. C. 171. Parikh Mrs. Kusum. 172. Patankar V. S. 173. Patankar W. R. 174. Patel Manilal. 175. Pathak Ram Narayan. 176. Pathan M. K. 177. Patwardhan C. N. 178. Patwardhan S. G. 179. Patwardhan Mrs. 180. Pishori Ibrahim. 181. Phadke V. N. 182. Phatak N. R. 183. Potdar K. R. 184. Prabhu S. V. 185. Principal A. E.S. H. School. 186 Principal P. S. H. School. 187. Principal A. E. S. Girls' H. School. 188. Principal St. Xavier's College. 189. Puranik P. G. 190. Pusalkar A. D. 191. Rao V. D. 192. Rege S. S. 193. Rodrigues L. 194. Row Mrs. Kshama. 195. Sabnis G.H. 196. Saldhana G. C. 197. Samant W. T. 198. Sambhoo J. N. 199. Sane P. S. 200. Saptarshi P. C. 201. Sardesai V. N. 202. Sattavala P. A. 203. Setalvad B. K. 204. Seth B. M. 205. Seth D. M. 206. Shah Amubhai P. 207. Shah C. J. 208. Shah H. A. 209. Shah Miss J. P. 210. Shah Miss Prabha P. 211. Shah P. C. 212. Shah T. P. 213. Shahane V. V. 214. Shastri Govind Vallabh. 215. Shembavanekar K. M. 216. Shertukade Miss Krishnakumari. 217. Shivlal Ramnath. 218. Shodhan Miss Chandrika. 219. Shukla S. M. 220. Solanki Miss N. M. 221 Subhedar Manu. 222. Sukthankar K. B. 223. Superintendent Modern N. H. School. 224. Surve V. S. 225. Sutaria R. J. 226. Talvalkar V. R. 227. Talvalkar Mrs. V. R. 228. Taraporewala I. J. S. 229. Tejani Miss Nalini. 230. Tikekar S. R. 231. Tikekar Mrs. Lila G. 232. Tilak M. D. 233. Tilak B. R. 234. Tope T. K. 235. Trivedi B.B . 236. Trivedi Miss Pratibha. 237. Tayabji H.B. 238. Uddhavji Paramanand. 239. Upadhyaya P. O. 240. Ursekar S. G. 241. Usmani Miss S. K. 242. Vaidya B.S. 243. Vaidya Mrs. Nirmala P. 244. Vaidya Pratap Kumar. 245. Vakil K.S. 246. Valame Mrs. Anasuya. 247. Varadachari D. B. R. 248. Velankar H. D. 249. Vijaykar R. G. 250. Virji Miss Krishna. 251. Vyas K. C. 252. Wadia Madam Sophia. 253. Wadia D. P. 254. Williams J.S. 255. Yajnik A. B.

(v) Appendix I : Appeal.

Residents of Bombay will be glad to know that the All India Oriental Conference has accepted our invitation to hold its 15th session in Bombay in November 1949. Some 30 years back the Conference was started by the efforts of the Bhandarkar Institute at Poona, where its first session was held. Since then its sessions have been held in different cities and States of India and this is the first time that it is to be held at Bombay.

The Conference has been doing very important work in connection with Oriental scholarship. It has been bringing together for mutual discussion and understanding distinguished oriental scholars from all parts of India and even from outside and has given great impetus to the growth of Oriental scholarship and learning. It has given great encouragement and inspiration to the younger generation of scholars who gather together at its sessions. We of Bombay have every reason to be proud that this year the session is going to be held here and will give us an opportunity of furthering the cause of oriental learning.

Several urgent and important problems in this behalf have arisen and have to be faced by us after the achievement of Independence by India. Thus (1) An Annual Bibliography of the progress of the Oriental studies and a Bulletin dealing with the current problems in Oriental literature, has to be prepared and published. (2) A History of our nation written on sound principles, but with a spirit of understanding and a sympathetic mind must be composed and published. (3) A Comprehensive Dictionary of the Sanskrit language, which is destined to play a decisive and important role in our national life and cultural studies, has to be prepared on sound historical principles. (4) Research activities have to be extended in the field of (a) Archaeology, especially the non-Indian branch of it, with a view to estimate the mutual influences of India and her neighbours in the past ; and of (b) the study of literatures of the neighbouring countries which disclose India's past history and glory. (5) Academies for a deeper and closer study of all Oriental languages and literatures must be founded in important cities all over India. (6) Manuscripts of Sanskrit works and works written in other ancient and modern languages have to be saved from deterioration and destruction by collecting and preserving them in Public libraries. (7) More important among these manuscripts have to be critically edited and published by starting Series like the Kavyamala and others, but more broad-based and comprehensive than these.

Of these, A history of our Culture and Civilization has been already undertaken by the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan of Bombay and also by two other bodies elsewhere in India. Similarly, A Sanskrit Dictionary on historical principles is also undertaken by the Deccan College Research Institute of Poona, in recent times. But the other projects mentioned above require our immediate attention. Such activities can be handled only if adequate funds are forthcoming. It is most desirable that we of Bombay should help in launching one of these or any similar projects at the time of the 15th session of the Conference in Bombay. Bombay is known for her liberal-minded and public-spirited donors and we approach its citizens with full confidence that our request for liberal and princely donations will not go unheeded and that we shall be able to entertain Oriental scholars from outside Bombay in a manner worthy of the best traditions of hospitality of Bombay.

The inviting bodies, namely the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society and the Bombay University have received a very hearty co-operation from the great institution, the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan started under the inspiring guidance and care of Mr. K. M. Munshi. They hope to receive similar co-operation from other institutions of research in Bombay. But the primary need of such undertakings is money and so the organizers of the session very earnestly request you to lend them a helping hand by becoming members of the Reception Committee and by giving donations for any one or more of the above mentioned projects or for a general purpose.

P. V. KANE
(Vice-Chancellor, University of Bombay)
Chairman, Local E. Committee.

Bombay,
25th Jan., 1949

(vi) APPENDIX II : INVITATION TO SEND DELEGATES.

Dear Sir,

You will be glad to know from the accompanying papers that the 15th Session of the All-India Oriental Conference is to be held at Bombay in November 1949. I have the honour to invite you to send delegates on behalf of your Government/University/Institution. All individual scholars are, of course, welcome, but we would like to see your Government/University/Institution, represented by its own delegates as this has been the usual practice.

If you agree to send delegates I am to request that the name of the delegates selected may kindly be communicated to me as soon as possible. If any of your delegates are likely to read any papers at the Conference, the papers in full along with summary should be sent so as to reach me not later than 31st August 1949.

I have also to request you to make a suitable grant to the Bombay Session on behalf of your Government/University/Institution.

Yours sincerely,
H. D. VELANKAR
Local Secretary.

(vii) APPENDIX III : INVITATION TO PATHASHALAS.

अखिलभारतीयप्राच्यविद्यापरिषद्।

पञ्चदशमधिवेशनम्।

श्री.______________________________पाठशालाया:

प्रधानाध्यापकमहोदया:,

१. अत्रभवतां कर्णपथमवतीर्णमेव स्यादागामिनि कार्तिकमासे शुक्ल १४–१५, कृष्ण १ इति तिथिषु (नव्हेम्बर ५–६–७) अखिलभारतीयप्राच्यविद्यापरिषद: पञ्चदशमधिवेशनमिह मुम्बापुर्यां भविष्यतीति। त्रिंशद्वर्षदेशीयाया अस्या: परिषद: भारतवर्षे तेषु तेषु प्रतिष्ठितेषु नगरान्तरेषु जातेष्वप्यधिवेशनेषु नाद्ययावन्मुम्बापुर्येवंरूपं सौभाग्यमनुबभूवे। अत: प्रसङ्गस्यास्यापूर्वत्वादस्मद्गौरवविशेषाधायकत्वाच्चायं शारदोत्सवो महतोत्साहेन निर्वहणमर्हतीति महामहोपाध्यायपदाङ्कितै: श्री. **पां. वा काणे** महोदयैरधिष्ठिता श्री. दिवानबहादूर **कृ. मां. झवेरी, श्री. क. मा. मुनशी** प्रभृति विद्यारसिकनागरप्रवरालङ्कृता स्वागतसमिति: सर्वेषां प्राच्यविद्यासंस्कृत्यादिपरिशीलननिरतानां पण्डितवराणां सहकारमपेक्षते तदर्थमभ्यर्थनां विधत्ते च॥

२. किञ्च। अद्ययावत्प्रवर्तमानां प्राचीनार्वाचीनसरण्यनुयायिनां पण्डितप्रकाण्डानां वृथा द्वैधमापादयन्तीं परिषदनुषङ्गरूपेण 'पण्डितसंमेलना'वतारणस्य प्रथां परिहृत्य उभयेऽपि विद्वांसस्तेषु तेषु विभागेषु समकक्षतया तुल्याधिकारा भवन्त्विति स्वागतसमित्या निर्णयोऽभ्युपगत:। स च सर्वेषां हृदयपरितोषावहो भवितुमर्हति॥

३. परिषदधिवेशनेषु स्थायिनो विभागाश्चतुर्दशसंख्याका: सन्ति। तेषां केचन यथा—वैदिक:, अनुवैदिक:, बौद्ध:, जैन:, इतिहास:, पुरातत्त्वम्, भारतीयभाषाशास्त्रम्, द्रविडसंस्कृति:, दर्शनशास्त्रम्। एतेषामन्यतमेषु विभागेषु स्वाभिमतविषयमधिकृत्य संशोधनात्मकं विवेचनात्मकं वा लेखं निवेद्य सारस्वतसत्रस्यास्य प्रतिष्ठां कृतकृत्यतां च सम्पादयितुमभ्यर्थ्यन्ते विद्याविलासिन:॥

४. अन्यच्च। स्वागतसमित्या स्वीकृतोऽयमधोनिर्दिष्ट: प्रस्ताव:......मुम्बापुर्यां परिभाषिता: संस्कृतपाठशाला: प्रत्येकमेकमेकं पण्डितप्रतिनिधिं प्रेषयन्तु। सोऽयं प्रतिनिधिरभिमतविषयमुद्दिश्योपरिनिर्दिष्टानामन्यतमस्मिन्विभागे संशोधनाद्यात्मकं लेखं समर्पयिष्यति रुप्यदशकं सामान्यसभ्यशुल्कमदत्त्वैव अस्मिन्नधिवेशने सर्वेषु समारम्भेषु सामान्यसभ्यवद् अधिकारमुपभोक्ष्यते। अन्येऽपि चाचार्यादिपदवीविभूषिता: स्वतन्त्राध्यापका: स्वयमेतादृशं निबन्धं लेखं वा समर्प्य शुल्कमदत्त्वैव चैतदधिवेशनसभासत्त्वप्रतिष्ठां प्राप्स्यन्ते चेति।

अतो भवदीयशालाया: प्रतिनिधेरभिधानादीन्यविलम्बेन प्रेष्यन्ताम्। तस्य लेखस्य सारसंक्षेप आगष्टमासस्यान्त्यतिथे: प्राग् लेख: समस्तश्च सप्टेम्बरमासस्य चरमतिथे: प्राक् प्रहीयेतामिति विज्ञाप्यात्रभवतां सोत्साहं सहकारमत्रापेक्षमाणौ विरमत:।

विद्वद्वशंवदौ
वेलणकरोपाह्व: दामोदरसूनु: हरिशर्मा
झालोपाह्व: चुनीलालात्मज: गौरीप्रसादशर्मा
मन्त्रिणौ.

(viii) Appendix IV : Bulletin No. 1

Bombay, 20th April 1949

It has been decided to hold the Fifteenth Session of the All-India Oriental Conference in November 1949 at Bombay under the joint auspices of the Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society, and the University of Bombay. A Reception Committee has already been formed for this purpose with Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. P. V. Kane as Chairman, and Dewan Bahadur K. M. Jhaveri and Mr. K. M. Munshi as Vice-Chairmen.

The Bombay Session of the All-India Oriental Conference must be regarded as a distinct landmark in the history of the Conference. Thirty years have passed since the first Session of the Conference was held at Poona in 1919. It is therefore, both necessary and desirable to pause and evaluate properly the work done by the Conference so far and to plan for the future on the basis of the experience gained in the past and in accordance with the requirements of the present changed conditions in the country. For this purpose, it is further necessary that all persons interested in Oriental learning should come together at the Bomby Session and consider ways and means for the adequate study and propagation of Orientology. All lovers of the subject are therefore, hereby requested to enrol themselves as Members of the Conference (A membership-form is enclosed herewith). Governments, Universities, Research Institutes and Colleges are earnestly requested to co-operate actively with the Conference by nominating delegates to and sanctioning suitable grants for the Bombay Session.

But the real value of the Session lies in the high standard of papers submitted to and discussed in the several sections, and of the symposia organised. Scholars working in different branches of Oriental learning are, therefore, requested to prepare papers for the Session on subjects of their special study. Besides the usual Sectional meetings, a varied programme of learned lectures, visits to libraries, museums, and places of antiquarian interest, and entertainments is being arranged by the Local Committee, the details of which will be given later.

Donations, Membership-fees, Papers etc. should be sent directly to Prof. H. D. Velankar, Local Secretary, 15th Session of the All-India Oriental Conference, Town Hall, Bombay 1.

The names of the General President and the Sectional Presidents are given below :

General President—Dr. S. K. De, M.A., B.L., D. Litt., Calcutta.

Sectional Presidents—

1	Vedic	Prof. Vishva Bandhu Shastri, Hoshiarpur.
2	Iranian	Dr. J. C. Tavadia, Santiniketan.
3	Classical Sanskrit ..	Dr. V. Raghavan, Madras.
4	Islamic Culture	Prof. Humayun Kabir, New Delhi.
5	Arabic & Persian	Maulavi Mahesh Prasad, Benares.
6	Pali & Buddhism ..	Prof. R. D. Vadekar, Poona.

7	Prakrit & Janism ..	Prof. H. D. Velankar, Bombay.
8	History	Dr. A. S. Altekar, Benares.
9	Archaeology	Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, New Delhi.
10	Indian Linguistics ..	Dr. Siddheshwar Varma, Nagpur.
11	Dravidian Culture ..	Prof. P. S. Subramanya Sastri, Tiruvadi.
12	Philosophy & Religion	Prof. V. A. Ramaswami Sastri, Trivandrum.
13	Technical Sciences & Fine Arts	Dr. V.S. Agrawala, New Delhi.

In addition to these 13 Sections, arrangemets are being made for five more, namely, Marathi, Gujarati, Hindi, Kannada and Urdu if at least five papers of research value are avilable in each section. A separate Pandit Pariṣad and Majlis-e-Ulema may not be found feasible for want of funds; but Pandits and Ulemas are requested to write papers in Sanskrit and Persian (or Arabic) respectively on a subject of their choice and read them at the relevant section of the Conference.

All papers intended to be read at the Conference should be sent, along with their short Summaries, to the Local Secretary before the 31st of August 1949.

R. N. DANDEKAR, M.A., PH. D.
A. S. ALTEKAR, M. A., PH.D.
General Secretaries,
All India Oriental Conference.

H.D.VELANKAR, M.A.
Local Secretary, 15 Session,
All India Oriental Conference.

(ix) APPENDIX V: BULLETIN No. 2

Bombay, 1st August 1949

It has already been announced in the First Bulletin that the 15th Session of the All-India Oriental Conference is to be held at Bombay under the auspices of the Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society and the University of Bombay. Dr. S.K. De, formerly Professor and Head of the Department of Sanskrit in the Dacca University is the General President, and Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. P.V. Kane, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Bombay is the Chairman of the Reception Committee.

The Conference will be held on November 5, 6 and 7, 1949. Besides the Sections mentioned in the First Bulletin*, there will be the following additional Sections at Bombay :

Section	*President*
Gujarati	Shri K.M. Munshi, Bombay.
Hindi	Prof. K.P. Mishra, Benares.
Kannada	Prof. K.G. Kundangar, Belgaum.
Marathi	Dr. Y.K. Deshpande, Yeotmal.
Urdu	Dr. Mohan Singh.

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* The sections are :—1 Vedic ; 2 Iranian ; 3 Classical Sanskrit ; 4 Islamic Culture ; 5 Arabic and Persian ; 6 Pali and Buddhism ; 7 Prakrit and Jainism ; 8 History ; 9 Archaeology ; 10 Indian Linguistics ; 11 Dravidian Culture ; 12 Philosophy and Religion ; 13 Technical Science and Fine Arts.

Popular Lectures by distinguished scholars illustrated with lantern slides, and symposia on important topics will be arranged, details of which will be intimated later. Besides, there will be a variety entertainment programme including the staging of a Sanskrit drama, classical music-vocal and instrumental, select specimens of characteristic features of Gujarati and Marathi song, stage, music and literature. An exhibition of rare coins, manuscripts, paintings etc. is also being organised.

A Handbook of Bombay dealing with the history of the island and giving an account of the academic institutions and museums, and of places of interest is under preparation, and will be supplied to the delegates on their arrival. An excursion to Gharapuri (Elephanta) is also being arranged for the delegates.

You are cordially invited to contribute a paper, and send its summary (not exceeding 200 words) before 31st August 1949. The paper, ordinarily not exceeding 10 typed pages, may be sent by the end of September 1949.

We regret very much that owing to the difficulty of finding lodgings and of strict rationing restrictions in Bombay, we are compelled, much against our wish, to request you to make your own arrangements with friends or relatives in Bombay for boarding and lodging if possible. But if this cannot be done, it is earnestly requested that we should receive the following particulars before 1st September 1949, so that we may make the necessary arrangements.

Whether you desire

(1) to stay in the Delegates' Camp, and join the vegetarian or non-vegetarian mess.

The charges for vegetarian and non-vegetarian diet will be respectively Rs. 20/—and 30—for the period, from the evening of 4th November to the evening of the 8th November. It is to be sent in advance and is not refundable, except when a member is unable to attend even on a single day.

(2) to be accommodated in a hotel providing vegetarian or non-vegetarian diet.

The hotel charges are :—

For western style, the charges vary from Rs. 12 to 30 per day.
For Indian style, from Rs. 8 to 20 per day.
(*Please mention specific hotel, if you have any preference*) :

Unless we are informed definitely about these requirements very early as indicated above, it will not be possible to make the necessary arrangements at the last moment. You are, therefore, particularly requested to fill in the form attached herewith and send it so as to reach us before the 1st September 1949.

G.M. Moraes,
A.D. Pusalkar,
S.R. Tikekar,
Joint Secretaries.

H.D. Velankar,
Local Secretary,
All-India Oriental Conference

ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE

(15th Session, Bombay)

To,

Prof. H.D. Velankar,
Local Secretary,
Fifteenth All-India Oriental Conference,
Town Hall, Bombay 1.

Dear Sir,

I have received the Second Bulletin, and shall be able to attend the Conference.

I shall send a paper for the ....section of the Conference, its title being.. The paper will be sent before the end of September, and its summary before 31st August 1949.

*I shall stay in the city and make my own arrangements for boarding and lodging.

OR

*I shall stay in the Delegates' Camp and join the vegetarian/non-vegetarian mess, and am sending Rs. 20/— /Rs. 30/— by M.O./Cheque.†

OR

*I desire to be accomodated in a hotel providing vegetarian/non-vegetarian diet. (*Mention name of the hotel if you have any preference*).

My Receipt No.................. Yours truly,

....

Date............................

Full Name...
(In Block Letters)

Address...
(In Block Letters)

---

* Score what is not required.

† If payment is made by a cheque payable outside Bombay, please add annas 6 to meet the Bank charges.

(x) Appendix VI: Bulletin No. 3

Bombay, 10th October 1949

1. As already announced, the 15th Session of the All-India Oriental Conference will be held in Bombay on the 5th, 6th and 7th November 1949. You are cordially invited to attend and participate in the proceedings.

2. The inaugural meeting will be held at the Convocation Hall of the University of Bombay at 2 P. M. on Saturday, the 5th of November. His Excellency Raja Sir Maharaj Singh, the Governor of Bombay, has kindly consented to open the proceedings of the Conference. Members are requested to be in their seats half an hour earlier.

3. All sectional meetings, symposia, public lectures with lantern slides, council meeting, and the entertainment programmes will be held at the St. Xavier's College (situated between the Dhobi Talao and the Victoria Terminus station).

4. Arrangements for the boarding and lodging of the members who pay their charges are made at the St. Xavier's College Hostel for Students. Section presidents will also be accommodated there. The members and the office-bearers of the Executive Committee of the Conference will stay at the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Chowpaty, behind the Wilson College. The general President has kindly consented to stay at the same place.

5. Members who will stay in the camps at the two places mentioned above should kindly intimate to us the date and the train by which they intend to arrive, before the 1st of November at the latest. Transport is being arranged for these members from the Victoria Terminus and the Bombay Central stations to these two camps. Members are requested to bring light bedding with them.

6. Members who have intimated that they will stay in the city with their friends should kindly make their own arrangements for transport from the station to their destinations. Our volunteers will of course be at their service and help them as much as they can.

7. Members are requested to write directly to the Divisional Traffic Manager, Bombay, for the reservation of their seats and berths on their return journey at least 15 days earlier. The members should also write to us the day on which they intend to commence their return journey, so that we might inform the Railway Authorities accordingly.

8. Lady delegates will be accommodated at the Kanji Khetsy Ladies' Hostel opposite to the General Post Office near the V. T. station, or at the Arya Mahila Samaja's Ladies' Hostel at the Laburnum Road, Gamdevi, Bombay 7.

9. Members of the Reception Committee (including the donors) and the local members of the Conference should kindly arrange to get their packets containing a badge, book of Summaries, the Bombay Guide, invitation cards and the entertainment Passes from the Office at the Town Hall on the 3rd and the 4th of November between 12-30 and 5-30 P. M. Members staying in the

ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE

(15th Session, Bombay)

To,

Prof. H.D. Velankar,
Local Secretary,
Fifteenth All-India Oriental Conference,
Town Hall, Bombay 1.

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OR

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My Receipt No.................. Yours truly,

....

Date..........................

Full Name...
(In Block Letters)

Address ....
(In Block Letters)

---

* Score what is not required.

† If payment is made by a cheque payable outside Bombay, please add annas 6 to meet the Bank charges.

(x) APPENDIX VI: BULLETIN No. 3

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camps will get their packets on their arrival at the camps. Members staying in the city with their friends may get theirs at the Convocation Hall on Saturday, the 5th November from 11-30 A. M. to 1-30 P. M.

10. A trip to the Elephanta Caves on the 8th November may be arranged provided about a hundred members communicate their intention to join before the evening of Saturday the 5th of November at the latest. The charges including the charges for light refreshments at the Caves, will be Rs. 3/- per head. The journey is of two hours duration each way by a steam launch, up and down the Panvel Creek.

G. M. MORAES,
A. D. PUSALKAR,
S. R. TIKEKAR,
Joint Secretaries.

H. D. VELANKAR
Local Secretary
All-India Oriental Conference
(15th Session)

ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE 15th SESSION, BOMBAY

II Proceedings of the Session

(i) Executive Committee of the Conference

President

Dr. S. K. De, M. A., B. L., D. Litt.,
19—A, Chaudhuri Lane, Shyambazar, Calcutta 4.

Vice-President

Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, M. A.,
Nilesvar, Edward Elliot Road, Mylapore, Madras.

Treasurer

Mm. Prin. V. V. Mirashi, M. A.,
Vidarbha Mahavidyalaya, Amraoti.

General Secretaries

Dr. A. S. Altekar, M. A., LL. B., D. Litt.
Benares Hindu University, Benares.

Dr. R. N. Dandekar, M. A., Ph. D.,
Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.

Other Members of the Executive Committee :—

1 Dr. P. V. Bapat, M.A., Ph. D.,
Fergusson College, Poona 4.

2 Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, M.A., Ph.D.
Bilvakunja, Poona 4.

3 Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, M.A., D. Litt., O.B.E.,
Director-General of Archæology in India, New Delhi.

4 Dr. S. K. Chatterji, M.A., D. Litt.,
University of Calcutta, Calcutta.

5 Prof. K. C. Chattopadhyaya, M.A.,
Allahabad University, Allahabad.

6 Prof. S. P. Chaturvedi M.A.,
Nagpur Mahavidyalaya, Nagpur.

7 Prof. Jagan Nath, M.A.,
360, Rainak Bazar, Jullundur City.

8 Mm. Dr. P. V. Kane, M.A., LL.M. D. Litt.,
Angre's Wadi, Girgaon, Bombay 4.

9 Prof. D. D. Kapadia, M.A., B.SC., I.E.S. (Retd.).
6, Staunton Road, Poona 1.

10 Dr. R. C. Majumdar, M.A., Ph.D.,
4, Bepin Pal Road, Kalighat, Calcutta.

11 Mm. Dr. Umesha Mishra, M.A., D.Litt.,
Allahabad University, Allahabad.

12 Dr. V. Raghavan, M.A., Ph.D.,
University of Madras, Madras.

13 Dr. C. Kunhan Raja, M.A., D.Phil.,
University of Madras, Madras.

14 Dr. Sukumar Sen, M.A., Ph.D.,
Unversity of Calcutta, Calcutta.

15 Dr. A. N. Upadhye, M.A., D.Litt.,
Rajaram College, Kolhapur.

16 Dr. P. L. Vaidya, M.A., D.Litt.,
Benares Hindu University, Benares.

17 Prof. H. D. Velankar, M.A.,
Wilson College, Bombay.

18 Dr. G. Yazdani, M.A., O.B.E.,
Orange Grove, Khairatabad, Hyderabad (Dn).

(ii) SECTIONS : PRESIDENTS AND SECRETARIES

SECTION		PRESIDENT	SECRETARY
I	Vedic	Prof. Vishva Bandhu Shastri, M.A. Hoshiarpur	Dr. H.R. Karnik, M.A. Ph. D.
II	Iranian	Dr. J.C. Tavadia, M.A., Ph. D. Santiniketan	Shri M.F. Kanga, B.A.
III	Classical Sanskrit	Dr. V. Raghavan, M.A., Ph. D., Madras	Dr. G.V. Devasthali, M.A., B.T., Ph. D.
IV	Islamic Culture	Prof. Humayun Kabir, M.A., New Delhi	Prof. N.A. Nadvi, M.A.
V	Arabic & Persian	Maulavi Mahesh Prasad, Benares	”
VI	Pali & Buddhism	Prof. R. D. Vadekar, M.A., Poona	Prof. N.K. Bhagwat, M.A.
VII	Prakrit & Jainism	Muni Jinavijayaji, Bombay	Prof. R.P. Kangle, M.A.
VIII	History	Dr. A.S. Altekar, M.A., LL.B., D. Litt., Benares	Prof. K.M. Shembavnekar, M.A.
IX	Archaeology	Dr. N.P. Chakravarti, M.A., D. Litt. O.B.E., New Delhi	Dr. L.B. Keny, M.A., Ph. D.
X	Indian Linguistics	Dr. Siddheshwar Varma, M.A., D. Litt., Nagpur	Mr. L.G. Parab, M.A., B.T.
XI	Dravidian Culture	Prof. P.S. Subrahmanya Sastri, M.A., Ph.D., Tiruvadi.	Shri M.R. Jambunathan
XII	Philosophy & Religion	Prof. V.A. Ramaswami Sastri, Trivandrum	Dr. B.S. Agnihotri, M.A., Ph. D.
XIII	Technical Sciences & Fine Arts	Dr. V.S. Agrawala, M.A., Ph. D., New Delhi	Shri V.R. Pandit, M.A., LL.B.
XIV	Marathi	Dr. Y.K. Deshpande, B.A., LL.B., D. Litt., Yeotmal	Dr. M.A. Karandikar, M.A., Ph. D.
XV	Gujarati	Dr. K.M. Munshi, B.A., LL.B., D. Litt., Bombay	Prof. M.M. Jhaveri, M.A.
XVI	Hindi	Prof. K.P. Mishra, Benares	Prof. M.D. Paradkar, M.A.
XVII	Kannada	Prof. K.G. Kundangar, M.A., Belgaum	Prof. Mrs. Indira Nalin, M.A.
XVIII	Urdu	Dr. Mohan Singh, M.A., Ph. D., D. Litt, East Punjab University.	Prof. N.A. Nadvi, M.A.

(iii) INSTITUTIONS SENDING DELEGATES

(N.B. Only those Institutions are listed here whose members have enrolled themselves as Ordinary, Life, Donor, or R.C. Members for this Session. The figures within the brackets refer to the Serial number of the Delegated Member in the List of Ordinary Members. A prefixed L., D., or R. refers to the number in the lists of the Life Members, Donors, or R.C. Members respectively.)

I. *Governments :* Government of Bihar (150) : Government of Bombay (R.10) ; Government of East Punjab (357) ; Government of Mysore (158) ; Government of Travancore (340) ; Government of United Provinces (186 ; 364) ; Government of Vindhya Pradesh (262).

II. *Universities :* Aligarh Muslim University (130) ; Benares Hindu University (7 ; 422) ; East Punjab University (385 ; 396 ; L.25) ; Indian Women's University (D.19) ; Osmania University (44 ; 263 ; 336 ; 360) ; University of Allahabad (323 ; 370 ; 412) ; University of Cambridge (51) ; University of Lucknow (139 ; 269 ; 383 ; 386 ; 324) ; University of Madras (11 ; 33 ; 221 ; 246 ; 289 ; 302 ; 303 ; 312 ; 326) ; University of Mysore (138 ; 340) ; University of Nagpur (56 ; 143 ; 224) ; University of Poona (173 ; 180 ; 395 ; 431) ; University of Patna (150) ; University of Travancore (110 ; 140 ; 334 ; 340) ; University of Utkal (1) ; Vishvabharati (16).

III. *Institutions :* Andhra Historical Research Society (308 ; 379 ; 394 ; L.22) ; Asiatic Folk Literature Society, Calcutta, (346) ; Bhandarkar O.R. Institute, Poona (27 ; 65 ; 107 ; 112 ; 173 ; 180) ; Bharatiya Vidya Bhuvan, Bombay (D 11 ; R.53 ; R.93; R.139 ; R.175 ; R.236 ; 41 ; 45 ; 71; 117 ; 239;296). Broach Historical Research Association (74) ; Deccan College PG. and R; Institute, Poona (129 ; 375 ; 377) ; Dharmapuram Adhinam, Mayuram, S. India (144) ; Ganganath Jha R. Institute, Allahabad (53 ; 230) ; Gujrat Research Society, Bombay (D.70 ; R.175 ; 89 ; 124) ; Gujrat Vidya Sabha, Ahmedabad (280) ; Haritosh Samiti, Bombay (D.60 ; R.62 ; R.234 ; 98 ; 107 ; 118 ; 161 ; 174 ; 247 ; 274 ; 275 ; 292 ; 420) ; Kaivalyadhama, Lonavala (2 ; 9 ; 169 ; 199 ; 384 ; 433) ; K.R. Cama O.R. Institute, Bombay (D.19 ; 168 ; 214 ; 225 ; 399 ; 416) ; Kuppuswami R. Institute, Madras (302); Mahakosal Historical Society, Balpur (405) ; Maharashtra Sahitya Parisad, Poona (211) ; Maratha Mandir, Bombay (19) ; Marathi Grantha Sangrahalaya, Bombay (195) ; Music Academy, Madras (302) ; Oriental Book Agency, Poona (127 ; 331 ; 332) ; Oriental Book House, Poona (115 ; 116 ; 330) ; P.E.N All India Centre, Bombay (8) ; Rajavade Samshodhan Mandal, Dhulia (193) ; Sanskrit Vidyapitha, Bombay (R.65 ; R.75 ; R.92) ; Shri Venkateshwar O.R. Institute, Tirupati (307) ; U.P. Historical Society, Lucknow (4 ; 20 ; 244) ; Vaidika Sanshodhana Mandala, Poona (177 ; 392).

IV *Colleges :* Bangavani College, Navadvipa (366) ; H.P.T. College, Nasik (264) ; Jeypore College, Jeypore (226 ; 228) ; Pratap College, Amalner (104) ; Ramnarayan Ruia College, Bombay (75 ; 77) ; S.N.D.T. College, Bombay, (285) ; S.P. College, Poona (101 ; 102 ; 211 ; 439) ; Scottish Church College, Calcutta (36) ; Siddhartha College, Bombay (R.172 ; 174) ; St. Xavier's College, Bombay (R.9 ; R.58 ; 114 ; 132 ; 151 ; 234 ; 376).

V. *Museums :* Central Museum, Nagpur (320) ; Municipal Museum, Allahabad (164).

VI. *High Schools* Aryan E. Society's High School, Bombay (R.106) ; Modern High School, Bombay (R.223) ; Orient High School, Bombay (160) ; Prabhu Seminary High School, Bombay (R.186).

(iv) LIFE-MEMBERS

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26 Singh Bahadur, H.H. Maharaja Shri Vibhutinarayan, Fort Ramnagar, Benaras State, U.P.
27 Singh Saheb, Shri Jugeshwar, Mubi Deorhi, Darbhanga, Bihar.
28 Singhji, Shriman Chandradhari, Chandranagar Deorhi, Madhubani, Darbhanga, Bihar.
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(v) Ordinary Members

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10 Apte, Dr. V.M., Ismail Usuf College, Andheri, B.S.D.
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(vi) PAPERS ACCEPTED FOR DIFFERENT SECTIONS

(N. B.—Papers recommended for publication in the Proceedings by Section Presidents are shown by an asterisk (*) against their numbers. Owing to want of space and other practical considerations most of these could not be published and this is deeply regretted.)

1. VEDIC SECTION

1. Dr. V. M. Apte : The Etymology of the name Indra.
2 Prof. R. B. Athavale : Śaṅkarācārya's contribution to the interpretation of the Vedas.
3 Dr. S. S. Bhawe : Conception of a Muse in the Rv.
4 Pandit Chandrakant : Brāhmaṇa-granthāḥ-veda vyākhyānāni.
5 Dr. T. Chowdhary : Aesthetic Outlook in the Vedas.
6 Pandit Gopinathshastri Chulet : Vaidika Khagola Jñānāśrita Khoja.

7 Shri S. Y. Dhonde : Similes in the Upanisads.
8 Prof. S. K. Dixit : The Composition of the Samhitas and the Iron Age in India.
9 Prof. S. K. Gupta : (a) *The Authorship of Some of the Hymns of the Rv ; (b) Nature of the Vedic Shakhas ; (c) Sūrya Daivajña as a Vedic Commentator.
10 Prof. S. Hota : The Miracle of the Dying Sun.
11 *Shri M. R. Jambunathan : A Study of Rv. X. 135.
12 *Prof. D. P. Joshi : The Ṛta.
13 Shri J. S. Karandikar : A New Interpretation of old Hymns.
14 Dr. H. R. Karnik : Indra Legends in the Śatapatha Brāhmana.
15 * Shri C. G. Kashikar : The Revised Sautrāmaṇi Text of the Vārāha Śrauta Sūtra.
16 Shri B. R. Kulkarni : Zarathushtra and Jaradaṣṭi.
17 *Shri V. P. Limaye : On the Etymology of Nihara, Nikaha & Nigut.
18 Miss M. J. Metha : Indra and his Devotees.
19 Shri Yudhisthira Mimansaka : Yajuṣām Śauklya-kārṣṇya-vivekaḥ.
20 Prof. Navare : A Glimpse into the Philosophic Hymns of the Rv.
21 Shri Totacharya Pangri : Vedārtha-vimarśana.
22 Shri B. A. Parab : Hymns of Will Power in the Atharva Veda.
23 Prof. K. R. Potdar : Agni and the Sacrifice in the Vedas.
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25 *Dr. C. Kunhan Raja : Some Problems of Vedic Prosody.
26 *Dr. L. Renou : Two Vedic Words, Upāmśu and Tūṣṇīm.
27 Prof. D. N. Shastry : The Rgvedic Conception of a Brother ; (b) Śreṣṭhā Vedārtha-śailī.
28 Dr. N. J. Shende : The Contribution of the Av. to the Upaniṣadic Thought.
29 * Dr. Suryakant: Was the Commentator of the Av. identical with the Sāyaṇa of the Rv. ?
30 *Dr. I. J. S Taraporewala : Some Vedic words viewed in the light of the Gathas and other Avesta Texts.
31 *Dr. E. J. Thomas : Vedic Studies in the West.
32 Dr. Siddheshwar Varma : Vedic Accent and the interpreters of Pāṇini.

II. IRANIAN SECTION

1. Shri H. R. Bana : Gaokerena.
2 Shri S. H. Batliwala : Metrical Passages in Pazend Literature.
3 Shri Dastur F. A. Bode : Staota Yesnya.
4 Shri Viccaji Dinshaw : Iron Age and Zarathrushtra.
5 *Shri E. M. F. Kanga : Datistan I. Denik Parsian XL.
6 *Prof. D. D. Kapadia : Pahlavi Commentator.
7 Shri J. C. Katrak :The Word Ayangah-L occurring in the Gathas.
8 *Dastur H. Mirza : Pahlavi Vitrar.
9 Dr. Sukumar Sen : Old Persian Asa Daruva.
10 Shri J. C. Tarapore : Three Avesta Words.
11 *Shri B. M. Tirmidhi : Zorostrian Fire Temple.
12 *Dr. J. M. Unwala : (a) Pahlvi Inscuplia per Istakhra ; (b) Aper Hem U Xrat ; Famx marf. 20-21.

III. Classical Sanskrit.

1 Shri Chintamani Acharya : Orissa's Contribution to the Classical Sanskrit Literature (Printed).
2 Shri H. Aggarwal : Kautilyakrtam Arthaśāstram (in Sanskrit).
3 MM. Pandit Bagevadikar : Sanskrtasāhitye Gadyaviralatāyāḥ kāraṇam. (in Sanskrit).
4 Prof. G. K. Bhat : Yajñaphala, A Critical Study.
5 *Prof. G. H. Bhatta : Draupadīvastraharana Episode in Mahābhārata.
6 Pandit K. A. Bhatta : Anudghāṭitā Sampad Gairvāṇyāh (in Sanskrit).
7 *Prof. Bhabatosha Bhattacharya : Dānasāgara and Dānaratnākara.
8 Prof. Durgamohan Bhattacharya : Vopadeva, the Polymath of Vidarbha.
9 Prof. S. P. Bhattacharya : *1. Kāvyakaustubha and its great source of inspiration ; 2. Navyā Kavayitrdvayī.
10 *Shri G. V. Budhakar : Two older Biographies of Śaṅkarāchārya.
11 Dr. Kshitishchandra Chatterjee : Studies in Sanskrit grammar.
12 Prof. S. P. Chaturvedi : Bhāvinimittavināshe ityādisūtrasya nūtano vimarśah (in Sanskrit).
13 Prof. Chintaharan Chakravarti : Value and importance of mss. in olden times.
14 Prof. R. R. Deshpande : Who is the Hero of Mudrārākṣasa ?
15 Prof. C. R. Devadhar : Plagiarism ; its varieties and limits.
16 *Prof. Dr. G. V. Devasthali : 1 Śabara and the Nyāyavaiśeṣika darśanas; 2. Viskambhakas and Praveśakas of Bhāsa.
17 Prof. V. R. R. Dikshitar : Date of the Bhāgavata Purāna.
18 *RB. P. C. Diwanji : Bhagavadgītā and the Aṣṭādhyāyī.
19 Prof. M. G. Gaidhani : Mudrārākṣasa and the Arthaśāstra.
20 Dr. S. N. Gajendragadkar : Study of the Alaṁkāras in Bhagavadgītā.
21 Shri G. H. Godbole : Some characteristics of Indra in the Rāmāyaṇa.
22 Prof. P. K. Gode : Date of Advaitabrahmasiddhi.
23 Shri S. Gopalkrishnachar : Ekarūpapāṭhyapustaka-Pravacanapraṇāli.
24 Shri K. J. Gopalrao : Oriental Studies : A Plan for the Future.
25 *Shri S. C. Guhathakura : Basic Sanskrit as the State Language.
26 *Prof. M. Hiriyanna : The Problem of the Rasavad Alaṁkāra.
27 Prof. G. S. Huparikar : Popularization of Sanskrit.
28 *Shri H. R. R. Iyangar : Bhartṛhari and Diṅnāga.
29 *Prof K. A. Subrahmanya Iyer : A Point of View of the Vaiyākaraṇas.
30 Prof. S. V. Iyer: Mātṛdatta, a Friend of Dandin.
31 Pandit Bhargavashastri Joshi : Bhāṣyavārtikayoh kālaviprakarsaḥ.
32 Prof. R. P. Kangle : A Problem in the Mudrārākṣasa.
33 Prof. R. D. Karmarkar : Aśvamedha, its origin and development.
34 *Shri J. C. Katrak : A Rare Ms. of the Sanskrit Ijisni.
35 *Shri S. L. Katre : Kalāpariccheda, an obsolete section of the Kāvyādarśa of Dandin.
36 Prof. D. G. Koparkar : Pāṇinīya Liṅgānuśāsana ; date and authorship.
37 Prof. D. D. Kosambi : Possible sources of the Bhagavadgītā.
38 Dr. K. Krishnamoorthy : A Novel view of Mahimabhaṭṭa on the place of Metre in Poetry.
39 Prof. G. V. Kulkarni : Genesis and nature of Vālmīki's Poetry.
40 Shri M. V. Mahashabde : Penetrating style of Nāgojibhaṭṭa.
41 Prof. Nandkishore Mishra : Bhavabhūti a Revaluation.
42 Mrs. Anjali Mukhopadhyaya: Technique of the Avayavavarnana in the Saundaryalahari (Printed).

43 Miss S. A. Nachane : Date of Madhusūdanasarasvatī.
44 Prof. Mrs. Indira Nalin : The Legend of Purūravas and Urvaśī.
45 Shri Gopal Narayan : A Plea for Sanskrit Broadcast.
46 Shri H. G. Narhari : 1. On the Text of the Kṛṣṇakarṇāmṛta of Bilva-Mangala ; 2. Date of the Bhikṣāṭanakāvya of Utpresāvallabha.
47 Dr. K. C. Pande : Kashmir Shaiva Tendencies of Mahimabhatta.
48 *Dr. V. G. Paranjpe : Recensions of the Mahābhārata ; two or three ?
49 Dr. P. K. N. Pillai : Sangrahaślokas in Sāyaṇa's Com. on Aitaraya Brāhmaṇa.
50 Dr. K. Kunjuni Raja : Students of Melapputur.
51 Shri Korada Ramchandra Shastry: An Unknown Sk. Poet of Āndhradeśa.
52 Mrs. Kshama Row : Adoption of Sanskrit as a popular language. (in Sanskrit.)
53 Dr. Gauri Shankar : Supernaturalism in Sanskrit Draṃa.
54 Shri K. V. Sarma : Saṅketikārtha Khaṇḍakāvya and its commentaries.
55 N. Sivarama Sastri ; The Three Kālidāsas.
56 Shri S. N. Sastri : Sports of Women in Ancient India.
57 Bhadanta Bhikshu Shastri : Pratitantreṣu Bauddhaprasaṅgah (in Sk.).
58 Prof. R.M. Shastri : Identity of Kumbha in the Jvaratimirabhāskara.
59 Pandit B. R. Sivasubrahmanya Shastri : Mahākavihṛdayaratnākara (in Sk.).
60 Dr. P. S. Subrahmanya Shastri : Pāka in Śrīharṣa's Naiṣadhacarita.
61 Prof. V. A. Ramaswami Shastri : Jānāśrayī Chandoviciti.
62 Shri S. V. Shastri : Subject and Subjectivity.
63 Dr. S. N. Sharma : A Brief History of the Research Department and Preservation of Mss. in the state of Kashmir.
64 Shri K. S. Shukla : A Plea for Puranic Research.
65 Dr. S. V. Singh : Kṣemendra's Contribution to Sanskrit Poetics.
66 *Dr. D. C. Sircar : Epigraphy and Lexicography in India.
67 Shri S. Sriramulu : Śokas Ślokatvam āgataḥ.
68 Dr. Ludwik Sternbach : Legal Position of the Prostitutes according to Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra.
69 Pandit Vinayakshastri Tillu : On Sāpiṇḍya According to the Mitākṣarā and the Dāyabhāga.
70 Dr. A. N. Upadhye : When was Pārśvābhyudaya composed ?
71 Shri S. B. Vaidya : Simplified Sanskrit.
72 Prof. Dr. R. N. Vale : 1. Kūṭavāṇijyam or Blackmarketing in Ancient India ; 2. Stimulation to Creation.
73 *K. N. Watwe : Problem of the Karuṇa Rasa and how to solve it.,
74 Prof. H. Vedantashastri : Rūpa's Conception of Rasa.

IV. Islamic Culture

1 Prof. M. I. Dar : RIYADAL-INSHA.
2 Prof. Dr. S. B. Samdi: Some Aspects of the Arab Iranian Culture of Baghdad.

V Arabic and Persian

1 D. B. K. M. Jhaveri : Some Persian Mss. in possession of Forbes Sabhā.
2 Shri J. C. Katrak : Persian Literature of Geomancy.
3 Dr. S. Mahdi Hasan : Arrangements of the Arabic Alphabet.
4 Dr. C. R. Naik : Culitivation of the Persian Language among the Nagars.
5 Prof. B. D. Verma : A Persian composition of Mohamud Masur.

VI. PALI AND BUDDHISM.

1 *Prof. Dr. P. V. Bapat : Fragments of a Pali Manuscript.
2 Lokanath Bhattacharya : Theory of Supernormal powers in Yogasūtra.
3 *Prof. Dr. Indumati Datar : Study of the 1st chapter of the Buddha-Palika-Mula-Madhyamika Vrtti.
4 Prof. Dr. B. G. Gokhale : Chhabbagiyas.
5 *Mrs. Anjali Mukhopadhyaya : Traditional Lore regarding Manjusri and its implications.
6 *Bhadanta Bhikshu Shastri : A Note on the Literary style and spirit of the Vajrasuci.

VII. PRAKRIT AND JAINISM

1 Prof. H. C. Bhayani : MIA Groups of consonants with r preserved in Gujrati.
2 Prof. R. V. Dixit : A Review of the Jain Canon recorded in Dhavalā.
3 Prof. S. V. Dixit : Nāyādhammakahāo—The Title.
4 *Dr. A. M. Ghatage : Two Brahmanic Philosophers in the Ṛṣibhāṣitāni.
5 *Dr. H. L. Jain : Dharmaparīkṣā of Srutakīrti.
6 Prof. V. M. Kulkarni : Anādivimsikā—A Critical Study.
7 Prof. R. V. Pathak : The Structure of a Vastu or Radda.
8 Shri R. N. Shaha : Aitihasika Jaina Sahitya.
9 Ram Singh Tomar : Some New Finds in the Apabhraṃśa.
10 Dr. Ramji Upadhyaya : The Authorship and the date of Setubandha.
11 *Dr. A. N. Upadhye : References to earlier works in the Tiloyapannatti.

VIII. HISTORY

1 *Dr. J. N. Banerjee : Mahārāja Sarvavarman of the Nirmand copper plate inscription of Mahāsāmanta Samudrasena.
2 Prof. N.N. Choudhuri : Delhi : What was it in the hoary past ?
3 Prof. R. K. Choudhury : Public opinion in Ancient India.
4 Shri N. K. Desai : The modern Broach and ancient Bharaukaccha.
5 Dr. V. M. Kaikini : The Myth of Aryan Migration in India.
6 Prof. R. D. Karmarkar : First Greek Conquerors of India.
7 *Shri G. H. Khare : Some Munghal Maratha Papers.
8 *MM. Dr. Lacchmi Dhar: 1. Origin of the name Bombay ; 2. Was ancient Egypt ever a dominion ?; 3. Was Rāvaṇa a Phylistine ?; 4. The Mandarams.
9 *Dr. R. C. Majumdar : Achaemenian Rule in India.
10 *Prof. D. R. Mankad : Shrikrishna's family ; Solar or Lunar.
11 *Prof. V. V. Mirashi : The Dates of the Elora Plates of Dantidurga.
12 Shri B. S. Purohit : Vākāṭakas : A Brief Study.
13 *Shri S. N. H. Quazi: The Visit of the last Nabab Moazizkhan of Broach to Mr. Hornby, the Governor of Bomby ; 2 Hakim Runullah Bharuchi Jahangiri.
14 *Dr. M. Rama Rao : The Home of the Sātavāhanas.
15 Shri S. Rangnath Rao : Belagutti Records.
16 MM. Pandit B. N. Reu : Mohamedan Emperors and the Jain Saints.
17 *Shri N. A. Sastri : Nāgānanda and its social background.
18 *Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri : An Episode in the Pandyan History.
19 Prof. P. C. Sengupta : Pandava Time and Vedic Dates.
20 *Shri R. N. Shah : Shah Hemu Vikramaditya, Emperor of Delhi.

21 *Prof. T. S. Shejwalkar : Mahārāṣtra on the eve of Muslim conquest.
22 *Dr. D.C. Sircar: Mahāsāmanta Mahārāja Viṣṇusena and Sāmaṇta Avanti.
23 *Shri K. Sitaramaiah : Some collateral evidences of the original habitat of the Andhras.
24 *Miss Kala Thairani : Recall of Seton.
25 *Dr. H. V. Trivedi : An Obscure Period in the Yādava History.
26 *Shri S. C. Upadhyaya : Mumbāpurī (In Sanskrit).

IX. ARCHAEOLOGY.

1 *Dr. H. Goetz : The Time-lag problem in Indian Art History.
2 Prof. V. R. R. Dikshitar : Lithic Monuments in Early South India.
3 *Khwaja Mohd. Ahmad : Inscribed and rivetted pottery from Kondapur.
4 *Dr. H. V. Trivedi : Some Unique Sculptures from Besnagar.
5 Prof. P. Chaudhuri : New Historical data through study of Epigraphs.
6 Dr. C. C. Das Gupta : Unpublished Ancient Indian Terracottas preserved in Musee Guimet, Paris.
7 *Shri V. M. Narasimhan : Renovation of Temple Tower.
8 *Dr. M. Rama Rao : A Kannad Fragment from Bidar.
9 Shri Satya Praksh : As Stones speak at Siva Dungari in Rajasthan.
10 *Dr. D. C. Sircar : Symbols for one-half and one-fourth in a Sanskrit Inscription of the 6th century A. D.
11 Shri A. S. Gadre : Excavations of Sahasralinga Talao at Patan.
12 Shri A. S. Gadre : Some rare Coins from Gujrat.
13 Shri K. D. Bajpai : Three new Kushana Inscription from Mathura.
14 *Prof. Jagan Nath : Identification of Kothur mentioned in the Allahabad Inscription of Samudragupta.
15 S. K. Dikshit : Copper and Bronze Age in India.
16 *Patil : Churli or Chudapallika of the 'Vailla-Bhattaswami temple.
17 *S. R. Rao : Belagutti Records.
18 *L. Narasimhachar : A re-study of the monuments at Hiremagalur.

X. INDIAN LINGUISTICS.

1 *Dr. S. K. Chatterji :—Phonetic transcription in the historical and comparative study of Indian languages.
2 Dr. Tarapada Choudhury : Some Phonetic Peculiarities of the Bengali Dialect of Manbhum.
3 Dr. Subhadra Jha : Pānini's Verb Forms have no fixed Tenses.
4 Prof. G. C. Jhala : The Problem of the Aspirate in roots like budh.
5 *Shri Tej Khajuria : Phonetical Chart of the Dogri.
6 *Prof. K. P. Kulkarni : The isophonos of the modern Indian languages.
7 Prof. Abdul Q. Sarvari : Some MIA. Characteristics preserved in the old Urdu.
8 *Dr. Sukumar Sen : Some Phenomena in MIA Accidence.
9 Shri H. A. Shah : A Chart for improving the Devanagari Typewriter.
10 *Dr. Aryendra Sharma : Derivatives of some unnoticed Vedic Hapax legomena.
11 *Dr. K. Godavarma : Nasal Assimilation in the Dravidian.
12 Shri A. B. Walawalkar : The Origin of the Indian Alphabet

XI. DRAVIDIAN CULTURE.

1 Dr. Arokiaswami : Some Political Philosopheres of Ancient S. India.
2 Prof. Mariappa Bhat : Family Names among the Tuluvas.
3 Dr. C. Achut Menon : Dravidian Civilization.
4 Prof. R. P. Sethu Pillai : The Pandya Dialect of Tamil.
5 Dr. V. Raghavan : A Compilation on Natya in Tamil.
6 Prof. N. Venkata Rao : Andhra Bhoja.
7 Prof, P. S. Subrahmanya Sastri : Sangam Classics and Vedic Religion.

XII. PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION.

1 *Dr. B. S. Agnihotri : The Implication of the word yukta in connection with the word mukta in the Bhagavadgītā.
2 *Prof. G. H. Bhatt : Vallabhācārya and the Pūrvamīmānsā.
3 *Prof. S. P. Bhattacharya : The Cardinal Tenets of the Yogavāsiṣṭha and their relation with the Trika system of Kashmir.
4 *Prof. H. B. Bhide : Note on Padmapāda's Pañcapādikā.
5 Prof. N. N. Choudhuri : The Mother Goddess Durgā.
6 Prof. R. N. Gaidhaṇi : Some guiding Principles of Ācāra.
7 Dr. D. V. Garge : Kātyāyana a Mīmānsaka.
8 Shri Gunderao Harkare : Śabdabodha.
9 Shri M. C. K. Igengar : Characteristics of a Vaisnava.
10 * Prof. J. S. Jetley : The Meaning of the word Avyapadeśya in NS.1·1·4.
11 Prof. H. C. Joshi : Udayana's Criticism of the Sāṁkhya.
12 Shri H. P. Mishra : Manaprasara and the Paramasiddhānta.
13 Dr. P. M. Modi : Each Adhyāya of the BG. a unit by itself.
14 Shri M. D. Paradkar : Influence of Sacrificial concepts in the style of Śaṅkarācārya.
15 *Dr. V. Raghavan : The Date of the Yogavāsiṣṭha.
16 Dr. C. Kunhan Raja : The Definition of Dharma in the Mīmāṁsā.
17 Pandit G. Ramakantachrya : The Secret doctrine of the Brahma Sutra.
18 *Pandit V. N. Sarma : Vaisesika Sūtra Pāṭha ; A critical study.
19 *Prof. D. N. Sastri : The Sautrāntika Theory of Knowledge.
20 *Prof. H. A. Sastri : Parentage of Srīkṛṣṇa.
21 *Prof. V.A. Ramaswami Sastri : Bhāṣyadīpa, a new Com. on Sābarabhāṣya.
22 Shri Gopinath Sen : Folk Religion.
23 Dr. Sivnath Sharma : Saktism and the Tantras.
24 Pandit Shobhakanta Jha Sharma : Jagatkartur īsvarasya śiddhiḥ.
25 MM. Chinnaswami Shastri : Karmānuṣṭhāne Ātmatattvapratibhāsaḥ.
26 Dr. Mohan Singh : 1. Worship and Salvation according to B. Gītā ; 2. Sikh Mysticism ; 3. New Light on the Buddha's 1st sermon.
27 *Prof. A. L. Thakur : Uddyotakara as a Vaiśeṣika.
28 Dr. H. V. Trivedi : Scientific Approach towards the Gandhian Doctrine of Satya.
29 Acharya Shri Tulsi : Kim Tattvam.
30 Shri Vedantashastry : Māyātattvavicāraḥ.
31 Shri S. B. Verma : Vaiśeṣika-sūtra-pāṭhaḥ.

XIII. Technical Sciences & Fine Arts.

1 *Dr. V. S. Agrawala : Arts and Crafts in Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī.
2 *Dr. M. V. Apte : The Flora in Kālidāsa's Literature.
3 Shri Lokanath Bhattacharya : East in the West.
4 Prof. B. R. Deodhar : Compositions in Indian Classical Music.
5 Shri P. H. Deshpande : Tumburuvādyasya sarvasvaradānakṣamatā.
6 Shri V. H. Deshpande : Unity of Content and Form in Indian Music.
7 Shri Gunderao Harkare : Saundaryaniruktiḥ. (In Sanskrit).
8 Shri S. C. Guhathakura : Script as a factor in Eye-diseases and Script reform necessary in India.
9 Dr. V. M. Kaikini : Some Reflections on the present Indian Music.
10 RB. Sardar M. V. Kibe : Bhūpālavallabha on Plans in Warfare.
11 *Shri A. Lobo : The Use of Microtones in Hindustani Music.
12 Dr. M. R. Majmudar : A Post-Gupta Mātṛkā Group from Western India.
13 Prof. A. G. Mangrulkar : Root of Musical Delight.
14 Prof. B. K. Mishra : A Study of the Siddhāntadarpaṇa.
15 Dr. Moti Chandra : Archeological Data in Jain Canonical difeature.
16 Sardar G. N. Mujumdar : Bhāsa and Music.
17 Shri R. S. Panchamukhi : Art and Architecture of Ancient Karnatak.
18 Prof. G. H. Ranade : A Brief Survey of the Climax in Music.
19 *Shri N. Venkata Rao : Some rare Mss. on scientific works in Telugu.
20 *Shri P. Sambamoorthy : Musical Laws : Facts and phenomena known to Musicologists of ancient and med. India.
21 Prof. B. J. Sandesara : Two Important references bearing on the history of spectacles.
22 *Shri U. P. Shah : Specimens of Premedival sculptures from Gujrat and Saurāṣṭra.
23 Prof. Dwijendra Nath Shukla : Bhoja's contribution to Architecture.
24 Shri Siddhalingaswami : Silpavibhūtiḥ (In Sanskrit).
25 Shri V. R. Talvalkar : Twin Animal Motif.
26 Shri G. S Tembe : Notations for Indian Music.
27 Pandit Sharayu Upadhyaya: Bhāratīya Jyotiṣaphalādeśasya pravṛttikālaḥ.

XIV Marathi.

1 Prof. R. M. Bhusari : The Yādavas of Devagiri and the Religious sects in the period.
2 *Shri S. M. Joshi : Some pecularities of the Marathi of the Historical Prose.
3 *Dr. M. A. Karandikar : Possibility of measuring Marathi Prose style.
4 *Prof. K. P. Kulkarni : The relationship of some Marathi and Kannada Words.
5 *Shri H. N. Nene : The Draupadīsvayaṁvara, a 17th century Mahānubhāva Poem.
6 Prof. B. S. Pandit : Santa Senājī.
7 *Prof. A. K. Priyolkar : A 17th century Marathi Purāṇa by a Portuguese Jesuit.
8 Shri R. N. Shah : 1. All-round Development of Marathi Literature ;
2. Jain Historical Marathi Literature.

XV. GUJARATI

1 *Prof. H. Bhayani : Four Derivations.
2 Shri J.C. Katrak : Old Gujarati used by a Parsi Poet.
3 *Dr. Manjulal Majmudar : Puzzles of Bahucarā.
4 *Prof. D.R. Mankad : Ghumalina Saindhavavamsi Rajao.
5 Mrs. K.T. Mulla : Hindi Sangita and Jarathoshtani Bhantaro.
6 *Prof. B.J. Sandesara : Shrikari-Sikari.
7 *Prof. K.K. Shastri : Bhalana and the Vrajabhasa.
8 *Dr. S.N. Shastri : Growth of Literature in Hindi and Gujarati.
9 Prof. V.R. Trivedi : Romantic Tendency in Gujarati Literature.
10 *Prof. K.B. Vyas : Contacts between Marathī and Gujarati.

XVI. HINDI

1 Shri H. Aggarwal : Progress of Hindi in the Punjab.
2 Prof. S.K. Gupta : Maharsi Dayananda and Hindi.
3 *Prof. A.H. Nizami : Prema Chingari of Maulana Hafiz Shah of Selon.
4 Shri B.S. Shastri : Manasa ka Santa.
5 Prof. U. Tivari : Language of Kabir.
6 Prof. B.D. Verma : Sufis' Stages with special reference to the Hindi works of Jayayasi.

XVII. KANNADA

1 Shri A.M. Annigiri : Amugideva I and his Vacanas.
2 *Prof. Mariappa Bhatta : Pampana Prabhava Telugina Mele.
3 R.B.A.P. Chaugule : Society in the Medieval Karnatak.
4 *Prof. R. Y. Dharvadkar : Growth and Composition of Kannada Vocabulary.
5 Prof. R.C. Hiremath : Was Siddharāma of Sonnalige a Shaivite ?
6 *Prof. D.S. Karki : Sangatya.
7 Prof. K.G. Kundangar : Obsolete words in Adipurana of Adi Pampa.
8 *Prof. S.S. Malwad : Self-portrayal of poet Harihara in his works.
9 *Prof. S.B. Shapeti : Historical and scientific study of some grammatical peculiarities in old Kannada.

XVIII. URDU

1 Prof. N.A. Nadvi : Development of Urdu in Bombay and its surburbs.
2 Dr. Z. H. Madani : Local Element in Wali's Poetry.
3 Prof. S.N. Quazi : Hakim Ratullah.
4 Prof. A.Q. Sarvari : An Unknown Work of Rajab Ali Beg Gorur.
5 Prof. B.D. Verma : Nusrati's Similes.

(vii) PROGRAMME OF THE 15TH SESSION.

NOTE 1. Members are requested to stand when His Excellency enters the Hall and remain standing until H.E. takes his seat ; and also to stand when H.E. leaves the Hall.

" 2. The Sectional Meetings, Symposia, Lantern Lecture, Meeting of the Council, and Entertainment Programme will be held in the St. Xavier's College.

,, 3. Reading of papers in different sections will be carried on in rooms shown against their Presidential addresses, on Sunday, the 6th November between 8-30 A.M. and 11-30 A.M. and between 1 P.M. and 4-30 P.M. and on Monday, the 7th November between 8-30 A.M. and 11-30 A.M. and again between 2 P.M. and 4 P.M. (if necessary).

Saturday, 5th November 1949

8-30 to 10 A.M.	Meeting of the retiring Executive Committee. (Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan Hall.)
10 to 11 A.M.	Visit to Kaivalyadhama, Marine Drive. A Visit to the Kaivalyadhama : There will be a small demonstration of some Yogic exercises followed by an explanatory talk refering to the original texts and their coordination with modern scientific research. Scientific apparatus and the literary research done so far at the Institute will be on exhibition.
2 to 4-30 P.M.	Inaugural Meeting (University Convocation Hall). (1). The President's procession ; (2) Prayers and welcome songs ; (3) Inaugural speech by His Excellency, Raja Sir Maharaj Singh, Governor of Bombay ; (4) Address of welcome by Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. P.V. Kane, Chairman of the Reception Committee ; (5) Election of the President and messages ; (6) Presidential address by Prof. Dr. S.K. De, M.A., B.L., D.Litt.
5-15 to 6-15 P.M.	Tea at Government House.
7 to 8 P.M.	Lantern Lecture by Khwaja M. Ahmed on Excavations at Panigiri. (Room No. V)
9 to 12 midnight.	Sanskrit Sakuntala. (St. Xavier's College Theatre)

Sunday, 6th November 1949

8-30 to 11-30 A.M.	Sectional Meetings (See Note 3 above). The location of the rooms is as under : First Floor : Latin, No. VII. First Floor Wing : No. IX ; Physics. Second Floor Front : No. VII ; B.A. Maths. ; No. VI Second Floor Wing : Nos. V ; IV ; III ; Biology. Above the Library : Nos. I, II, XI, XII, XIII, XIV.

Presidential Addresses as follows :—

8-30 to 9—0 A.M.	Vedic	Room No. I
9—0 to 9-30 A.M.	Iranian	,, XIII
9-30 to 10—0 A.M.	Classical Sanskrit	,, II
10—0 to 10-30 A.M.	Islamic Culture	,, VIII
10-30 to 11—0 A.M.	Arabic and Persian	,, VIII
11—0 to 11-30 A.M.	Pali and Buddhism	,, XIV
8-30 to 9-30 A.M.	Meeting of the Linguistic Society of India. (St. Xavier's College, Room No XII	

9-30 to 10-30 A.M. Symposium on Sanskrit as a terminological lingua franca. (Physics Room)

1 to 4-30 P.M. Sectional Meetings (See Note 3 above)

Presidential Addresses as follows :—

1—0 to 1-30 P.M.	Gujarati	(Room No. V)
1-30 to 2—0 P.M.	History	(Biology Room)
2—0 to 2-30 P.M.	Archaeology	(Room No. VI)
2-30 to 3—0 P.M.	Indian Linguistics	(Physics Room)
3—0 to 3-30 P.M.	Dravidian Language and Culture	(Latin Room)
3-30 to 4—0 P.M.	Philosophy & Religion	(Room No. VII)
4—0 to 4-30 P.M.	Technical Science & Fine Arts	(Room No. XI)

4-30 to 4-45 P. M. Group photo in the St. Xavier's College.

4-45 to 5-30 P. M. Tea by Reception Committee. (St. Xavier's College)

5-30 to 7 P. M. General Symposium on Oriental Studies and State Policy. (Room No. V.).

9 to 12 midnight. Variety Entertainment. (St Xavier's College Theatre). Before 6 P. M. on Sunday, the 6th November, General Secretaries Dr. R. N. Dandekar or Dr. A. S. Altekar or the Local Secretary Prof. H. D. Velankar will receive nomination papers, at the temporary office at St. Xavier's College (Hostel Room No. 10 ground floor) on prescribed forms (to be obtained from Office), for (i) Sectional Presidentships for the next session (as per rule 12c), and for (ii) Membership of the new Excutive Committee (as per rule 10, c, (iii). Members of the newly Constituted Executive Committee, the Section Presidents of the session concluding and such section presidents of the former sessions as may be present, elect the new Section Presidents. Members of the Council elect the new Executive Committee.

Monday, 7th November 1949

8-30 to 11 A. M. Sectional Meetings (See Note 3 above).

Presidential Addresses as follows·

8-30 to 9	A. M.	Prakrit & Jainism	(B. A. Maths. Room)
8-30 to 9	A. M.	Hindi	(Room No. IV)
9-30 to 10	A. M.	Kannada	(Room No. IX)
10 to 10-30	A. M.	Marathi	(Room No. III)
10-30 to 11	A. M.	Urdu	(Room No. VIII)

-30 to 10 A. M. Symposium on Simplified Sanskrit. (Room No. II)

10–30 to 12–30 P. M.	Meeting of the Council (Room No. V.)
2 to 4 P. M.	Meeting of the New Executive Committee (Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan Hall).
4 to 5 P. M.	Shri and Shri Sow. Munshi will be At Home to the members of the Conference at the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan.
5–45 to 7 P. M.	Concluding Session (Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan Sabhagriha)
8 P. M. to 12 midnight.	Entertainment Programme (St.Xavier's College Theatre)

(Exhibition of MSS, Coins, Paintings, etc. has been arranged in the Durbar Hall of the Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society Town Hall and will be open between 12–30 P. M. to 5–30 P. M. from the 5th to 8th November 1949).

Tuesday 8th November 1949

8–30–2–30 P. M. Excursion to Gharapuri (Elephanta Caves)

(viii) MINUTES OF THE MEETINGS

A : OLD EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

A meeting of the Executive Committee of the All-India Oriental Conference was held at 8-30 A. M. on Saturday, the 5th November 1949, in the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay. The following members were present : Professor K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, MM. Dr. P. V. Kane, Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, Dr. Sukumar Sen, Dr. P. V. Bapat, Professor S.P . Chaturvedi, Professor D. D. Kapadia, Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, Dr. C. Kunhan Raja, Dr. A.N. Upadhye, Dr. V. Raghavan, Dr. P. L. Vaidya, Professor Jagan Nath, Dr. S. K. Chatterji, Dr. A. S. Altekar and Dr. R. N. Dandekar. In the absence of Dr. S. K. De, the President of the Conference, Professor K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, the Vice-President, presided. The following business was transacted at the meeting.

(1) The minutes of the meeting of the Executive Committee held at Darbhanga on 18-10-48 were read and confirmed.

(2) The draft of the condolence resolution to be moved from the Chair at the Open Session of the Conference, as prepared by the General Secretary, was approved and adopted.

(3) Dr. R. N. Dandekar gave the following information about the action taken by the office on the Resolutions passed by the Conference at Darbhanga.

(a) The Resolution about Hindi and Devanagari Script was duly communicated to and acknowledged by the President of the Constituent Assembly. The Consitituent Assembly has since adopted Hindi in Devanagari Script as the National Language of India.

(b) The Resolution about the Manuscript Survey was duly communicated to the Secretary, Government of India, Ministry of Education. By his letter dated 10-12-1948 the Secretary informed the General Secretary that the resolution "was forwarded to all the Provincial and important State Governments for such action as they might consider necessary".

(c) The resolution about the All-India Indological Research Association was duly forwarded to the Secretary, Government of India, Ministry of Education, but no reply was received.

(d) The sub-committee consisting of Dr. S. K. De, Dr. R. C. Majumdar, and Dr. R. N. Dandekar appointed by the Executive Committee to consider and report on the All-Asian Conference of Orientalists was to have met at Bombay before the Bombay Session. Owing to the unavoidable absence of Dr. De and Dr. Majumdar, however, the sub-committee could not meet.

(4) Arising out of this information, it was resolved that, at the Bombay Session, the Conference should strongly reiterate its earlier resolution about the All-India Indological Research Association. It was further resolved that a deputation consisting of MM. Dr. P. V. Kane, Dr. S. K. Chatterji, Dr. C. Kunhan Raja and Dr. R. N. Dandekar should wait on the Prime Minister, the Deputy Prime Minister, and the Minister for Education to explain to them the whole Scheme of the Association. The deputation should also discuss with them other allied matters such as the convening in India of an All-Asian Conference of Orientalists, the establishment of a Central Organisation for the propagation of Indian Culture in foreign countries etc.

(5) It was resolved that a sub-committee consisting of Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, Dr. C. Kunhan Raja, and Dr. V. Raghavan (convener) be appointed to draft a resolution on the Manuscript Survey of India to be placed before the Council for consideration.

(6) Dr. R. N. Dandekar submitted the audited accounts of the Conference for the period of one year from the 1st January 1948 to the 31st December 1948. They were duly passed and recorded (see appendix 1.)

(7) On a motion moved by Dr. Raja and seconded by Dr. Raghavan it was resolved that Messrs. G. M. Oka and Co., Chartered Accountants, Poona, be appointed auditors to audit the accounts of the Conference for the year 1949 on a token honorarium of Rs. 25/—only.

(8) On a motion moved by Dr. Sukumar Sen and seconded by Dr. P. V. Bapat it was resolved that the audited accounts of the Benares Session of the All-India Oriental Conference, as submitted by the Local Secretary, be passed and recorded.

(9) Dr. R. N. Dandekar made a detailed statement about the financial position of the Conference. It was resolved that the Executive Committee should take early steps to appoint Trustees of the Conference. It was further resolved that the General Secretary and the Treasurer be authorised to invest Rs. 18,000/—out of the Permanent Fund of the Conference in suitable Government Securities. (It was the sense of the Executive Committee that the present Trustees of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Diwan Bahadur K. M. Jhaveri and Sardar G. N. Mujumdar, and Dr. Amarnath Jha be requested to become the Trustees of the Conference).

(10) Dr. R. N. Dandekar made a report on the progress of the printing of the Volumes of the Proceedings of the Nagpur Session and the Darbhanga Session of the Conference. The Executive Committee desired that the General Secretary should write to the Local Secretaries of the Nagpur and the Darbhanga Sessions urging the desirability of the Proceedings Volumes being published without any further delay.

(11) It was resolved that the following ten persons, whose names were recommended by the Local Committee, be coopted to the Council: Prof.

R.P. Kangle, Prof. G.C. Jhala, Prof. Mrs. Indira Nalin, Dr. H.R. Karnik, Prof. R.R. Deshpande, Prof. G.M. Moraes, Prof. Miss K.K. Munshi, Dr. D.D. Mehta, Prof. N.K. Bhagwat and Prof. B.B. Trivedi.

(12) It was resolved that the consideration of the resolution regarding the Encyclopaedia of Technical Terms in Ancient Indian Thought forwarded by the 21st International Congress of Orientalists, Paris, 1948, be deferred pending further details in this connection being made available.

(13) It was resolved that the proposal regarding the Inter-Asian Conference of Orientalists be discussed with the Government of India by the Deputation appointed by the Executive Committee (vide No. 4).

(14) Professor S.P. Chaturvedi was permitted to withdraw his proposal regarding Sanskrit being employed as medium for teaching Sanskrit.

(15) The proposal regarding the amendment of certain Rules of the Conference sent by Prof. Chintaharan Chakravarti was considered, and it was resolved that, as most of the suggestions made by him are already covered by the Rules of the Conference, at present in force, nothing need be done in that regard.

(16) It was resolved that the letter, dated 30-9-1949 from Mr. K.J. Gopal Rao of the Shree Gouthami Vidya Peetham, Rajahmundry, regarding the work of the Conference in connection with the languages and subjects relating to Oriental Culture, be recorded.

(17) Dr. R.N. Dandekar presented before the Committee a specimen copy of the "Index of Papers submitted to the All-India Oriental Conference, (Sessions I—XII)" prepared by Mr. K. Venkataswara Sarma, Oriental Manuscripts Library, University of Travancore, Trivandrum. It was resolved that, in appreciation of the careful and efficient work done by Mr. K.V. Sarma, in connection with the "preparation and printing of the Index", he be paid an honorarium of Rs. 500/- (Five-hundred) only. It was further resolved that the price of the "Index" be fixed at Rs. 6/- per copy (for members of the Conference) and Rs. 12/- per copy (for non-members).

(18) The letter, dated 28-10-1949, from Mr. V.H. Deshpande, Principal B.R. Devdhar and others, requesting the President to add a separate Section for "Indian Music" at the Bombay Session and thereafter was considered, and it was resolved (*a*) that such Section cannot be added at the Bombay Session at such a short notice; (*b*) that the question regarding the advisability or otherwise of adding such Section at other Sessions be decided by the General Presidents of those Sessions.

(19) The General Secretary reported that Professor Humayun Kabir, President of the Islamic Culture Section, Professor R.D. Vadekar, President of the Pali and Buddhism Section, Professor P.S. Subrahmanya Sastri, President of the Dravidian Culture Section, and Professor Mishra, President of the Hindi Section, are not attending the Bombay Session. It was resolved (*a*) that the Islamic Culture Section be combined with the Arabic and Persian Sections to be presided over by Maulavi Mahesha Prasad, and (*b*) that Dr. P.V. Bapat, Professor R.C. Sethu Pillai and Dr. Surya Kanta be requested to preside over the Pali and Buddhism, Dravidian culture, and Hindi Sections respectively.

Sd. R.N. Dandekar
Secretary.

Sd. K.A. Nilakanta
Chairman.

(APPENDIX 1)

All-India Oriental Conference, Poona 4.

Receipt and Payment Account for the period from 1-1-1948 to 31-12-1948.

Receipts.				*Payments.*			
1. Opening Balance :— With Imperial Bank of India, Lahore .. ..Rs.	11,835	3	8	1. Subvention to Dr. R. N. Dandekar Delegate of the A.I.O.C. to 21st International Congress of Orientalists, Paris, as per Executive Committee's Resolution No.VI of 15th October 1948 ..Rs.	500	0	0
With Dr. A. S. Altekar .. ..Rs.	183	3	0	2. Postage and Stationery .. ..Rs.	82	15	0
With Bank, Poona .. ..Rs.	9,058	4	7	3. Miscellaneous .. .. ..Rs.	22	13	6
Cash on hand .. .. ..Rs.	91	0	3	4. Expenses by Dr. A. S. Altekar, as per his statement, dated 1st January 1949 .. .. ..Rs.	90	2	0
2. Interest ending June 1948, from Bank .. ..Rs.	50	0	0	*Balance at Close :*			
3. Life-membership and Membership fee .. ..Rs.	110	0	0	1. With Imperial Bank of India, Amraoti, as per letter from Treasurer, dated 29-1-1948 .. ..Rs.	11,835	3	8
				2. With Dr. A. S. Altekar, as per his statement of 1-1-1949 ..Rs.	93	1	0
				3. With Bank, Poona .. ..Rs.	8,432	10	1
				4. Cash on hand .. .. ..Rs.	270	14	3
Total ..Rs.	21,327	11	6	Total ..Rs.	21,327	11	6

Audited and found correct.
Sd. C. M. Oka & Co.,
Chartered Accountants.

Sd. R. N. Dandekar
Gen Secretary.

B : THE COUNCIL

A meeting of the Council of the All-India Oriental Conference was held at 10-30 A.M. on Monday, the 7th November 1949, in the St. Xavier's College, Bombay. The following members were present. In the absence of the President Dr. S.K. De, the Vice-President, Professor K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, was in the chair. The following business was transacted at the meeting :

Messrs. V.V. Mirashi, R.P. Kangle, A.M. Ghatge, A.D. Pusalkar, M. Rama Rao, N. Venkataramayya, H. Batliwala, Suniti Kumar Chatterji, V.G. Paranjpe, Ram Singh Tomar, C.R. Devadhar, R.D. Karmarkar, N.V. Vaidya, N.A. Gore, Indira Nalin, C.G. Kashikar, R.R. Deshpande, Siddheshwar Varma, N. Sivarama Sastri, G.V. Devasthali, L.G. Parab, Surya Kanta, K. Ramakrishnaiya, A.S. Gadre, V. Raghavan, S.K. Belvalkar, C. Kunhan Raja, P.V. Kane, H. Mirza, M.S. Irani, R.G. Gyani, P.V. Bapat, D.D. Kapadia, J.M. Unvala, P.C. Divanji, M. Nizamuddin, Chintaharan Chakravarti, Bhabatosh Bhattacharya, Raghunath Sastri Kokaje, Khwaja Muhammad Ahmad, Katrak Jamshed Cawashji, Kanti Chandra Pandey, Jagan Nath, Subhadra Jha, F.G. Natesa Aiyar, J.C. Tavadia, M.F. Kanga, J.C. Tarapore, K. Venkateswara Sarma, H.R. Rangacnaralu Iyengar, S.P. Chaturvedi, G.M. Moraes, S.M. Katre, A. Sharma, Sukumar Sen, G.C. Jhala, K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, A.S. Altekar, and R.N. Dandekar.

(1) The minutes of the meeting of the Council held at Darbhanga on 17-10-1948 were read and confirmed.

(2) The General Secretary reported to the Council the names of the ten persons who were coopted to the Council by a resolution of the Executive Committee.

(3) The General Secretary reported that 60 nominations were received by him for election to the Executive Committee. He then read out the names of the candidates who were duly proposed and seconded :—

Messrs. (1) Agrawala, V.S., (2) Aiyer, Subrahmanya K., (3) Altekar, A.S., (4) Bagchi, P.C., (5) Bannerji, J.N., (6) Bapat, P.V., (7) Belvalkar, S.K., (8) Bhatt, G.H., (9) Bhatt, Mariappa, (10) Bhattacharya, Babatosh, (11) Bhattacharya, Sripad, (12) Chakravarti, Kshetreschandra, (13) Chakravarti, N.P., (14) Chatterji, S.K., (15) Chattopadhyaya, K.C., (16) Dandekar, R.N., (17) De, S.K., (18) Devasthali, G.V., (19) Dikshitar, T.A. Venkateshwar, (20) Divanji, P.C., (21) Gadre, A.S., (22) Gore, N.A., (23) Gyani, R.G., (24) Jagannath, (25) Jha, Subhadra, (26) Jhaveri, K.M., (27) Kabir, Humayun, (28) Kapadia, D.D., (29) Kane, P.V., (30) Kangle, R.P., (31) Karmarkar, R.D., (32) Katrak, J.C., (33) Khwaja Muhammed Ahmed, (34) Majumdar R.C., (35) Mirashi, V.V., (36) Mishra, Umesha, (37) Modi, P.M., (38) Mohansingh, (39) Munshi, K.M., (40) Nalin, Indira, (41) Nilakanta Sastri, K.A., (42) Nizamuddin, M., (43) Pillai, R.R. Sethu, (44) Pusalkar, A.D., (45) Raghavan, V., (46) Raja, C. Kunhan, (47) Rama Rao, M.,

(48) Ramaswami Sastri, V.A., (49) Rizwi, M.H., (50) Sarma, Aryendra, (51) Sen, Sukumar, (52) Shende, N.J., (53) Subrahmanya, P.S., (54) Suryakanta, (55) Upadhye, A.N., (56) Vaidya, P.L., (57) Velankar, H.D., (58) Venkataramanayya, N., (59) Vishva Bandhu Sastri, (60) Yazdani, G.

Dr. J.C. Tavadia expressed the desire to withdraw his name and was permitted to do so. The election of the 18 members of the Executive Committee then took place. The Chairman appointed Dr. S.C. Nandimath and Prof. T.K. Tope as Scrutineers.

(4) The following resolution was moved from the Chair—

"Resolved that while welcoming the action of the UNION Government in establishing All-India Research Laboratories for the different branches of Science like Physics, Chemistry, Metallurgy etc., the All-India Oriental Conference urges the UNION Government to establish an All-India Indological Research Institute at a suitable centre at an early date for—

(i) carrying on and coordinating researches in the history, art, culture, philosophy, languages, and literatures of India ;

(ii) actively encouraging the study of the languages, history and culture of Asian countries which came into cultural contact with India in the past like Egypt, Iraq, Iran, Afghanistan, China, Japan, Java, Sumatra, Ceylon ;

(iii) interpreting Indian culture to the world abroad and spreading its knowledge in all directions.

The Conference feels that this Central Indological Research Institute would be the proper place for locating the proposed national library and for housing the manuscripts that are being collected in India or brought back from foreign countries.

The Conference urges the UNION Government to appoint a representative Committee to work out the details of this All-India Indological Research Institute and will be glad to offer the Government its full cooperation in the matter. Resolved further that a deputation comprising of MM.P.V. Kane, Professor Suniti Kumar Chatterji, Professor C. Kunhan Raja and Professor R.N. Dandekar wait upon the Prime Minister of India, the Deputy Prime Minister and the Education Minister to explain to them the need for urgent action on the lines contemplated in the Resolution.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

(5) Dr. V. Raghavan proposed and Dr. A.S. Altekar seconded the following resolution :

"Resolved that this All-India Oriental Conference at its 15th Session urges upon the Government of India the need to take effective and planned steps to salvage and safeguard the literary treasures lying in ancient MSS. collections in the different parts of the country; that, for this purpose, the Government do constitute on the lines of the Archaeological Survey of India, a regular, full-fledged Department called 'the Manuscripts Survey of India', manned by scholars qualified in literary manuscripts work; and that, as a first step, the Government do make a beginning by setting apart a certain amount, not less than a lakh of rupees annually for the appointment of a nucleus staff and the collection and purchase of MSS."

The resolution was carried unanimously.

(6) After a vote of thanks to the Chair the meeting was terminated.

Sd. R.N. Dandekar,	Sd. K.A. Nilakanta,
Secretary.	*Chairman.*

The result of the election to the Executive Committee was announced at 12 noon. The following 18 persons were declared to have been duly elected members of the New Executive Committee of the All-India Oriental Conference:

(1) Kane, P.V., (2) Dandekar, R.N., (3) Altekar, A.S., (4) Velankar, H.D., (5) De, S.K., (6) Mirashi, V.V., (7) Chakravarty, N.P., (8) Raghavan, V., (9) Vaidya, P.L., (10) Belvalkar, S.K., (11) Nilakanta Sastri, K.A., (12) Upadhye, A.N., (13) Pusalkar, A.D., (14) Munshi, K.M., (15) Agrawala, V.S., (16) Karmarkar, R.D., (17) Chakravarti, K., and (18) Raja C. Kunhan.

Sd. K.A. Nilakanta.

C: NEW EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

A meeting of the new Executive Committee was held at 2 p.m. on Monday, the 7th November 1949, in the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay. The following members were present:—MM. Dr. P.V. Kane, Dr. S.K. Belvalkar, Prof. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, MM. Principal V.V. Mirashi, Dr. N.P. Chakravarti, Prof. H.D. Velankar, Dr. P.L. Vaidya, Dr. V. Raghavan, Dr. A.N. Upadhye, Dr. V.S. Agrawala, Prof. R.D. Karmarkar, Dr. C. Kunhan Raja, Dr. A.D. Pusalkar, Dr. A.S. Altekar, and Dr. R.N. Dandekar. Professor K.A. Nilakanta Sastri was voted to the Chair. The following business was transacted at the meeting.

(1) At the outset the Chairman reported to the Executive Committee that a mistake had occured in connection with the election to the Executive Committee. It was discovered that Prof. K.C. Chakravarti, who was declared to have been elected, was not a member of the Council. It was later on got ascertained from the proposers and the seconders of that name for election that there was a genuine mistake on their part inasmuch as, instead of Prof. K.C Chattopadhyaya, they had wrongly written the name as Prof. K.C. Chakravarti. The Chairman therefore held the election of Prof. K.C. Chakravarti invalid. He further ruled that Dr. Sukumar Sen who had secured the highest number of votes after the first eighteen members already declared to have been elected should be considered to have been duly elected a member of the new Executive Committee. Dr. Sukumar Sen thereupon attended the meeting.

(2) MM. Principal V.V. Mirashi proposed and Dr. C. Kunhan Raja seconded the following resolution : .

"Resolved that Dr. R.N. Dandekar and Dr. A.S. Altekar be elected General Secretaries of the All-India Oriental Conference."

The resolution was passed unanimously.

(3) Dr. V. Raghavan proposed and Dr. Sukumar Sen seconded the following resolution :

"Resolved that Dr. S.K. Chatterji and Khwaja Muhamad Ahmed be coopted members of the Executive Committee of the All-India Oriental Conference, in the vacancies caused by the election of Dr. R.N. Dandekar and Dr. A.S. Altekar as General Secretaries."

The resolution was carried unanimously.

(4) Dr. A.S. Altekar proposed and Dr. C. Kunhan Raja seconded the following resolution: .

"Resolved that MM. Principal V.V. Mirashi, Nagpur, be elected Treasurer of the All-India Oriental Conference."

The resolution was carried unanimously.

(5) Dr. S.K. Belvalkar proposed and Dr. A.N. Upadhye seconded the following resolution :

"Resolved that Prof. D.D. Kapadia be coopted member of the Executive Committee in the vacancy caused by the election of MM. V.V. Mirashi as Treasurer".

The resolution was carried unanimously.

(6) The following resolution was moved from the Chair:

"Resolved that Professor M. Hiriyanna be elected President of the All-India Oriental Conference."

The resolution was carried unanimously.

(7) Dr. S.K. Belvalkar proposed and Dr. P.L. Vaidya seconded the following resolution :

"Resolved that Professor K.A. Nilakanta Sastri be elected Vice-President of the All-India Oriental Conference.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

(8) Dr. P.L. Vaidya proposed and Professor D.D. Kapadia seconded the following resolution:

"Resolved that Professor Vishva Bandhu Sastri be coopted member of the Executive Committee in the vacancy caused by the election of Professor K.A. Nilakant Sastri, as Vice-President."

The resolution was carried unanimously.

(9) Dr. R.N. Dandekar, the General Secretary, reported to the Executive Committee that the following two invitations for holding the next Session were received by the Conference :

(i) University of Lucknow (conveyed through Professor K.A. Subrahmania Iyer).

(ii) Gujarat Vidya Sabha, Ahmedabad (conveyed through Professor Rasiklal C. Parikh)

After considering these invitations the Executive Committee unanimously passed the following resolution in that behalf—

"Resolved that the invitation received by the All-India Oriental Conference from the University of Lucknow, to hold its next, that is the Sixteenth Session at Lucknow under the auspices of the University be thankfully accepted and that the University be requested to organise the Session some time in the last quarter of 1951."

"Resolved further that the best thanks of the All-India Oriental Conference be conveyed to the Gujarat Vidya Sabha, Ahmedabad, for its kind invitation, and the Sabha be informed that it was not possible for the Conference to avail itself of the invitation of the Sabha owing to the priority of the invitation of the University of Lucknow. The Conference, however, hopes to meet under the learned auspices of the Sabha on some suitable occasion in future."

(10) A joint meeting of the new Executive Committee and the Presidents and Section Presidents of the past Sessions of the All-India Oriental Conference, who were present at the Bombay Session, was then held for electing Section Presidents for the next Sessions :—

Dr. R.N. Dandekar, the General Secretary, announced that, as only one nomination each was received for the Presidentships of the following Sections, the persons so nominated were duly elected Section Presidents unopposed :

Arabic and Persian :	Dr. M. Nizamuddin
Indian Linguistics :	Dr. K. Goda Varma
Dravidian Culture :	Prof. S. Vaiyapuri Pillai

The names of Prof. H.D. Velankar and Pandit Sukhlalji were duly proposed and seconded for the Presidentship of the Prakrit and Jainism Section. Prof. Velankar expressed the desire to withdraw his name and was duly permitted to do so. Pandit Sukhlalji was thus elected unopposed as President of the Prakrit and Jainism Section.

Nominations for the Presidentships of the other Sections were received as follows :

Vedic :	(1) Dr. V.M. Apte (2) Dr. Surya Kanta
Iranian :	(1) Sir R.P. Masani (2) Mr. J.C. Tarapore
Classical Sanskrit :	(1) Prof. K.K. Handiqui (2) Dr. A.D. Pusalkar (3) Dr. Aryendra Sarma
Islamic Culture :	(1) Dr. Bikramjit Hasrat (2) Prof. Syed Sulemain Nadvi
Pali and Buddhism :	(1) Dr. B.C. Law (2) Dr. Malalasekera
History :	(1) Dr. B.Ch. Chhabra (2) Dr. H.C. Ray
Archaeology :	(1) Dr. J.N. Bannerjee (2) Dr. H.D. Sankalia
Philosophy and Religion :	(1) Dr. P.C. Bagchi (2) Shri P.C. Divanji (3) Dr. P.M. Modi
Technical Sciences etc :	(1) Dr. Moti Chandra (2) Dr. Raghu Vira

The election for the Presidentships of these Sections then took place.

The Chairman appointed Dr. A. N. Upadhye and Dr. V. Raghavan as Scrutineers.

The result of the election was as follows :

Vedic :	Dr. Surya Kanta
Iranian :	Mr. J.C. Tarapore
Classical Sanskrit :	Prof. K.K. Handiqui
Ismalic Culture :	Dr. Bikramjit Hasrat
Pali and Buddhism :	Dr. B.C. Law
History :	Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra
Archaeology :	Dr. H.D. Sankalia
Philosophy and Religion :	Dr. P.C. Bagchi
Technical Sciences and Fine Arts:	Dr. Moti Chandra.

Sd. R.N. Dandekar,
Secretary.

Sd. K.A. Nilakanta,
Chairman.

D : OPENING SESSION

The opening Session of the Fifteenth All-India Oriental Conference was held at 2 p. m. on Saturday, the 5th of November 1949 in the Convocation Hall of the University of Bombay, Bombay. His Excellency Raja Sir Maharaja Singh, Governor of Bombay, arrived at the University Library at 2.15 p.m. and was received by MM. Dr. P. V. Kane, Shri K. M. Munshi, and Dr. R. N. Dandekar. The General Secretary introduced to His Excellency the Vice-President of the Conference, the Section-Presidents, and the Members of the Executive Committee. All these then formed the Presidential procession and entered the Convocation Hall punctually at 2 p. m. After Prayers and Welcome-song, the Chairman of the Reception Committee, MM. Dr. P. V. Kane requested His Excellency the Governor to inaugurate the Session. The Governor's inaugural address was followed by the Welcome-speech by MM. Dr. P. V. Kane. Dr. C. Kunhan Rája then formally announced that Dr. S. K. De, who was elected the President of the Conference was unable to attend the Session owing to the illness of his father. In his absence, the Vice-President of the Conference, Professor K. A. Nilakanta Sastri was requested to preside over the deliberations of the Session. Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji spoke about the work of Dr. De and Professor Nilakanta Sastri and seconded Dr. Raja's proposal that Professor Nilakanta Sastri preside over the Session. The proposal was unanimously accepted by the assembly with loud acclamation. On Professor Nilakanta Sastri's taking the Chair, the General Secretary read some of the messages received on the occasion. Messages were received from, among others, Professor Renou, Professor Turner, His Excellency Sri Bapuji Aney, Dr. Yazdani, and Dr. Amarnath Jha. The Chairman then asked Dr. R. N. Dandekar to read Dr. De's Presidential Address. After the reading of the Address Dr. Dandekar moved, on behalf of the Chairman, the following resolution of Condolence :

> "Resolved that this Fifteenth Session of the All-India Oriental Conference meeting in Bombay places on record its sense of deep sorrow at the sad demise of the following Orientalists who passed away since the last Session of the Conference.
>
> (1) Professor Dr. Birbal Sahani ; (2) Dr. Ernst E. Herzfeld ; (3) Dr. J. A. Stewart ; (4) Professor V. A. Gadgil ; (5) Pandit Sir Mangeshrao Telang ; (6) Dr. Abdul Haq ; (7) Aga Merza Muhamed Khan Qzwaii ; and (8) Prof. Abdul Hamid Khan."
>
> The resolution was carried all standing.

After a few announcements by the General Secretary and the singing of Vande Mataram the Opening Session of the Conference was terminated.

Sd. R. N. Dandekar
General Secretary

Sd. K. A. Nilakanta
Vice-President

E : CONCLUDING SESSION

The Concluding Session of the Fifteenth All-India Oriental Conference was held at 5 p. m. on Monday, the 7th November 1949, in the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, Professor K. A. Nilakanta Sastri presided. At the instance of the President, the General Secretary Dr. R. N. Dandekar made the following announcements :

(1) The following are the Office-bearers and Members of the Executive Committee for the Sixteenth Session of the All-India Oriental Conference:—

(1) President	Professor H. Hiriyanna, Mysore.
(2) Vice-President	Professor K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, Madras.
(3) Treasurer	MM. Principal V. V. Mirashi, Amraoti.
(4) General Secretaries :	Dr. A. S. Altekar, Benares. Dr. R. N. Dandekar, Poona.

Other Members of the Executive Committee :—

(1) MM. Dr. P. V. Kane
(2) Prof. H. D. Velankar
(3) Dr. S. K. De
(4) Dr. N. P. Chakravarti
(5) Dr. V. V. Raghavan
(6) Dr. P. L. Vaidya
(7) Dr. S. K. Belvalkar
(8) Dr. A. N. Upadhye
(9) Dr. A. D. Pusalkar
(10) Shri K. M. Munshi
(11) Dr. V. S. Agrawala
(12) Prof. R. D. Karmarkar
(13) Dr. C. Kunhan Raja
(14) Dr. Sukumar Sen
(15) Dr. S. K. Chatterji
(16) Mr. Khwaja Mahammad Ahmad
(17) Prof. D. D. Kapadia
(18) Prof. Vishva Bandhu Shastri.

(2) The following persons are elected Section-Presidents of the Sixteenth Session of the All-India Oriental Conference :—

1) Vedic : Dr Suryakanta
2) Iranian : Mr. J. C. Tarapore
3) Classical Sanskrit : Prin. K. K. Handiqui
4) Islamic Culture : Bikramjit Hasrat
5) Arabic and Persian : Dr. M. Nizamuddin
6) Pali and Buddhism : Dr. B. C. Law
7) Prakrit and Jainism : Pandit Sukhalalji
8) History : Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra
9) Archaeology : Dr. H. D. Sankalia
10) Indian Linguistics : Dr. K. Godavarma
11) Dravidian Culture : Prof. Vaiyapuri Pillai
12) Philosophy and Religion : Dr. P. C. Bagchi
13) Technical Sciences and Fine arts : Dr. Motichandra.

(3) The Executive Committee has thankfully accepted the invitation received from the University of Lucknow to hold the Sixteenth Session of the All-India Oriental Conference at Lucknow under the auspices of the University. The next, that is, the Sixteenth Session of the Conference will accordingly be held at Lucknow some time in the last quater of 1951.

Professor K. A. Nilakanta Sastri then delivered his concluding address.

After the address, on behalf of the Reception Committee, MM. Dr. P. V. Kane proposed a vote of thanks to a large number of persons and institutions who helped him in making the Bombay Session a grand success. On behalf of the Conference, Prof K. A. Nilakanta Sastri moved a vote of thanks to the University of Bombay and the Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society, under whose joint auspices the Bombay Session was held, and the Chairman, Vice-Chairman and the Members of the Executive Committee of the Bombay Session; MM. Principal V. V. Mirashi moved a similar vote of thanks to the Local Secretaries, Shri and Mrs. Munshi, and the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan; Dr. Mohan Singh to the Organisers of the Variety Entertainments and the Volunteers.

In a Sanskrit speech, Professor N. Chaudhari of Delhi proposed a vote of thanks to all who had contributed towards the success of the Session. All these were passed with loud acclamation. The Session concluded with singing of Vande Mataram.

Sd. R. N. DANDEKAR *General Secretary*	Sd. K. A. NILAKANTA *Vice-President*

(ix) IMPORTANT POINTS FROM THE SECTIONS REPORTS

Section II: The President suggests that there should be some standard of originality and importance in the papers submitted to the Conference and that encouragement should be given only for the right sort of work that deserves the name of research.

Section III: On the last day there was a symposium in this section on 'Simplified Sanskrit'. It was well attended and evoked great interest. There was a rush for speakers. In his introductory remarks, the President of the section said that this symposium was a corollary of the symposium on Sanskrit as the Lingua Franca of India held at Darbhanga in 1948 (14th Session). Regarding the lines on which simplification could be effected, he referred to Dr. Otto Schraeder's booklet on the subject published in Madras, 1909. The president of the section, Dr. V. Raghavan, touched upon an inherent contradiction involved in advocating the cause of Sanskrit on the ground of its vastness, richness etc., and in speaking at the same time of the need for simplifying it to a basic standard. Asking what was to be gained by exposing such a basic form, he answered that it might serve as a common medium among different linguistic areas and that its cultivation might enable one to partake of it at its higher and richer level also in due course and with greater ease. Dr. S. K. Chatterji opened the discussion and opined that simplification was a necessity and also a natural phenomenon in the history of a language. Dr. C. K. Raja laid emphasis on the need for simplification of Sanskrit printing and suggested hyphenating of Compounds and omission of the Sandhis for this. Dr. Taraporewala, Mrs. Kshama Row, Shri Guha Thakura and Prof G. S. Huparikar advocated simplication, while Dr. C. Bulcke observed that Sanksrit was and must be the cultural lingua franca of India and that no graduate of a University should go out without qualifying in it. Dr. P. V. Kane, Prof. S. P. Chaturvedi, Prof. K. M. Shembavanekar, Prof. S. P. Bhattacharya and Dr. Godavarma were against simplification but were agreed upon the necessity of a wider and more intensive study of Sanskrit among the school and college students, as well as the educated members of our community.

Section IV. Professor Humayun Kabir, the president-elect, was unable to attend and so Maulavi Mahesh Prasad, the president-elect of the Arabic and Persian section was requested to preside over this section also.

Section VI : The President-elect of the Pali and Buddhism section Prof. R. D. Vadekar was unable to attend owing to ill health and so Dr. P. V. Bapat was requested to preside over this section. Dr. Bapat in the course of the reading of his paper exhibited the photographs of a rare manuscript which proved beyond doubt that the Pali texts were written at one time in an Indian script.

Section VII : The president-elect of the section, Muni Jinavijayaji, delivered his presidential address orally and dealt with the methods of Jinistic studies, in particular.

Section X : On the morning of Sunday the 6th Nov. 1949, a symposium on Sanskrit as a terminological lingua franca was held under this section. Dr. Siddheshwar Varma, Dr. S. K. Chatterji and Dr. Godavarma took a prominent part in the discussion. Dr. Varma the President, initiated the discussion and explained why it was absolutely necessary to adopt a terminology primarily based upon Sanskrit. He set out a five-fold programme to achieve the goal. It was as follows :—(1) Harnessing the potentialities of Sanskrit roots, prefixes, suffixes and compounds : (2) an exhaustive search of Sanskrit secular vocabularies scattered in Sanskrit Commentaries, both published and unpublished; (3) an exhaustive and profound survey of the dialects of India, the chief purpose being the Sanskritization of the necessary dialectical words ; (4) a co-operation of modern technicians with Sanskrit scholars ; and (5) A compulsory study of Sanskrit in the higher primary and secondary schools. In the best interests of the vernaculars also, he thought, it was necessary to actualize the above-mentioned five-fold programme. Dr. Godavarma who spoke next, led the opposition. His contention was that in view of the divergent vernaculars of India, both Aryan and non-Aryan, it was impossible to evolve a technical terminology primarily based on Sanskrit alone. Dr. Chatterji concluded by saying that there was unity in diversity, at least in this matter, and it was Sanskrit and Sanskrit alone that can help best in this gigantic task of evolving a technical terminology.

Section XI : The president-elect, Prof. P. S. Subrahmanya Sastri, was unable to attend the session but had sent his presidential address which was read in his absense. Prof. Sethu Pillai was requested to preside over the section and guide the deliberations.

Section XIII : The president-elect of this section, Dr. V. S. Agrawalla, observed that a section on Music should form an independent part of the Conference, since the number of papers on Music this year was large and some of them were extremely learned and thought-provoking. At present Music is included in Section XIII, Technical Sciences and Arts. It seems necessary at least to have two different sections for Arts and Technical Sciences.

Section XVI : The president-elect, Prof. Kashi Prasad Mishra, could not attend the session owing to ill health ; so Dr. Surya Kanta was requested to preside over this i. e., the Hindi Section. He delivered his address orally as one was not sent by Prof. K. P. Mishra.

Under the Urdu section, a Mushaiera was held and was largely attended. Dr. Mohan Singh presided on the occasion.

ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE 15th SESSION, BOMBAY.

III. Addresses.

I. Inaugural Address Of His Excellency Raja Sir Maharaj Singh, Governor of Bombay.

Dr. Kane, Dr. De, Ladies and Gentlemen,

It is a matter for pride and gratification to all of us in the Province of Bombay that the prima urbs in India has been selected as this year's venue of the 15th session of the All-India Oriental Conference which for thirty years has done work of lasting value since it was first launched in this Province in the historic city of Poona. I am grateful for the honour that you have done to me in asking me to inaugurate its proceedings this year. I must frankly admit that I am not an oriental scholar though I have long been interested in certain aspects of Indian history and culture. Such was the perversity of the times in which I was educated that I know far more Greek and Latin than Sanskrit and Arabic. In an expert assembly of ripe Eastern scholarship, therefore, I must crave your indulgence.

The aims and objects of your conference are highly commendable. It congregates scholars and research workers in various branches of orientalia and facilitates the integration and co-ordination, and may I add, the publication of work in diverse subjects? Its laudable ambitions include a central library of works bearing on oriental studies, the publication of scholarly editions of rare and important texts, monographs, biographies and encyclopaedias, the establishment of museums, and the collection of manuscripts, coins, inscriptions, sculptures, pictures and other valuable antiquities. You also cover in your several sections a vast field, for instance, the Vedas, philology, classical and modern languages, ethnology, folk-lore, philosophy, archaeology, ancient history, numismatics and fine arts.

From the history of your Conference I have been interested to know that in its fifth session held at Lahore in 1928 foreign universities including Oxford, Cambridge, Durham, Bristol and New Zealand sent their delegates and that it received messages of goodwill from many other universities in England, France, Germany, Denmark, Australia, Canada and America. We have attained political independence. That is an inestimable boon, but scholarship and intellectual effort outstrip the limits of race and country, and nations have much to learn from each other.

You are justified in my humble opinion in holding your sessions in different places in India. This promotes a specialised study of the mosaic pattern of culture in various zones. It also helps the delegates not only to discuss the subjects academically, so to speak, but to benefit from accumulated local experience and knowledge, from visits to places and institutions and inspection of local exhibits. · As the proceedings of your Conference are documented and preserved, your libraries will be valuable store-houses of learning beneficial to those also who are not able to participate in your deliberations.

There is considerable virgin ground still for pioneers of research in practically all branches of Oriental learning. The history of our country, as you know, has been largely based on or at least affected by the results of industrious research with the aid of epigraphy and archaeology, numismatic evidence, monuments, ancient Indian literature and later publications, and we have also profited by the writings of foreign pilgrims and travellers such as Fa Hien, Hiuen Tsang, Manucci, Tavernier, Bernier and others, to mention only a few. Knowledge, however, is essentially dynamic and in a state of flux rather than static and stagnant. Your Conference, by bringing about a healthy crossfertilisation of ideas and exchange of academic and visual evidence, has done good service to the cause of learning. We must always acknowledge our debt to European scholars for their exploration in our linguistic, philosophical, aesthetic and historical heritage. Jones, Bournouf, Bopp, Grimm, Max Muller, Weber, Bohtlingk, Roth, Senart, Levi, Deussen, Winternitz, Arthur Keith are names which we can hardly forget when we study the Sanskrit literature of the Vedas, the Brahmanas, the Upanishads, philosophical treatises and later classical Sanskrit contributions. In history also many Europeans have done valuable work. In the sphere of art and archaeology we owe much to the labours of Fergusson, Marshall, Brown and Havell. But we look with special pride on our own countrymen who in increasing numbers have joined the noble band of scholars and research workers. To mention only a few names, there are Bhau Daji Lad, Bhandarkar, Telang, Shankar Pandurang Pandit, Tilak, Jayaswal, Dr. Ganganath Jha, Sarkar, Coomaraswami, Sardesai, Sukthankar, Belvalkar and Radhakrishnan. And this conference happily includes many distinguished men to whom, with those whom I have named, our nation owes a lasting debt of gratitude.

I understand that Dr. De, your President, has written an excellent history of Sanskrit Poetics and is now engaged in the famous critical edition of the Mahabharat undertaken by the Bhandarkar Research Institute. Dr. Kane, the Chairman of the Reception Committee and Vice-Chancellor of the University of Bombay, is an eminent scholar and is connected with several learned institutions. He has been actively associated with your Conference, having presided over its session in Nagpur in 1946. In 1948 he had the distinction of attending the Congress of Orientalists in Paris as one of India's delegates.

I believe that you desire to prepare and publish :—

(1) an annual bibliography of progress in oriental studies and a bulletin dealing with current problems in oriental literature ;

(2) a history of India ; and

(3) a comprehensive dictionary of the Sanskrit language based on sound historical principles.

I also note that it is your intention to extend archaeological research, to study the literature of neighbouring countries which has a bearing on India's history, to found an academy for a deeper study of oriental languages and literature, to acquire and preserve in public libraries manuscripts of Sanskrit works and publications written in other ancient and modern languages, and to edit and publish comprehensive series such as the Kavyamala and others. I wish you a full measure of success in these praiseworthy endeavours. I understand that the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan of Bombay has already undertaken a history of Indian culture and civilization and that its work in this direction has been complemented by that of two other bodies elsewhere in India. They deserve our congratulations. The Deccan College Post-graduate Research Institute in Poona is compiling a Sanskrit dictionary on historical principles. In this province commendable work is being done by this Research Institute and also by the Bharat Itihas Saunshodhak Mandal and the well-known Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute. The last of these is actually the fountain head of the activities of your Conference, as it was with the establishment of that Institute that comprehensive research in various branches of oriental learning became systematic and articulate.

The Government of Bombay has evinced its appreciation of the good work done by the Bhandarkar Institute by making available to it Rs. 21,000/-. It has also assisted by grants totalling on Rs. 60,000/- the Vaidic Saunshodhan Mandal, Poona, the Dharmakosha Karyalaya, Wai, the Anjuman-i-Islam Research Institute, Bombay, the Islamic Research Association, the Mumbai Marathi Granthalaya, Bombay, the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, the Gujarat Vidya Sabha, Ahmedabad, the Swadhyaya Mandal, the Samarth Vadgdevata Mandir and the Kaivalyadham, Lonavala. Further, the Deccan College Post-graduate and Research Institute, Poona, is entirely financed by Government.

Ladies and Gentlemen, an interesting and absorbing programme awaits you and I do not wish to take more of your time. Some of you have contributed instructive papers for discussion. You have also in your programme, visits to libraries, museums and places of antiquarian interest and I trust that you will not ignore lighter forms of recreation. I wish you all a happy time in Bombay and fruitful deliberations. I am looking forward to meeting you again this evening at the "At Home" which I am privileged to give in your honour in Government House.

2. Welcome Speech of Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. P. V. Kane, M. A. LL. M. D. Litt., Chairman of the Reception Committee.

Your Excellency, Ladies and Gentlemen,

It is my proud privilege to extend, on behalf of the Reception Committee of the 15th Session of the All-India Oriental Conference, a very cordial welcome to this distinguished gathering of Oriental Scholars, Patrons and Promoters of Oriental Studies. Last year when the Session of the Conference was held at Darbhanga, I was privileged to invite the next session of the All-India Oriental Conference to Bombay on behalf of the Bombay University and the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. Knowing the traditional generosity of Bombay citizens and being hopeful of securing the inspiring sympathy of His Excellency and the Premier, the Hon. Mr. B. G. Kher, I extended the invitation to the Conference to hold its session in Bombay this year. Owing to the strictness of rationing and the difficulty of finding accommodation, I was somewhat diffident about inviting the Conference, but backed by the two great boddies which asked me to extend the invitation, I made bold to give it. The large number of delegates from outside Bombay convinces me that, whatever the difficulties due to rationing and lack of accommodation may be, Oriental Scholars are eager to meet together in order to find out ways and means of advancing oriental studies in spite of great personal inconvenience.

Bombay as a city has grown during the last three hundred years only. Bombay cannot claim the sanctity of such cities as Allahabad, Benares, Tirupati and Trivandrum where former sessions of the Conference were held and carries little of antiquity as compared to Patna or Pataliputra which has witnessed the rise and fall of several imperial dynasties. As compared with these cities which have been known throughout the ages as places of learning, piety and regal splendour, Bombay is a mere child ; but in spite of our city being very young there is much in it about which we can feel proud. Because we have prepared a separate guide about Bombay in which we have given the history of the rise of this Island City, its numerous educational and other institutions and the places of interest that can be seen round about it, I do not propose to go into any details about the charm of Bombay and the guidance offered to visitors coming from distant places in the whole of Bharata. Bombay can pride itself upon having produced during the last hundred years or so very eminent and patriotic men like Dadabhoy Nowroji, V. N. Mandlik and Sir Phirozeshah Mehta. We can also boast of eminent scholars in Indology such as Bal Gangadharshastri Jambhekar, Dr. Bhau Daji (who was one of the few Indian Fellows named in the Act of Incorporation concerning the Bombay University), Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji, K. T. Telang, H. H. Dhruva, Shankar Pandurang Pandit and Dr. Ramkrishna Bhandarkar, to mention only a few from amongst the distingusihed scholars that are unfortunately no more amongst us.

Bombay also can show numerous educational and charitable institutions which owe their origin, development and growth to the very large donations of its merchant princes. For example, if you look at this very Hall, it is a beautiful gift of Sir Cowasji Jehangir. The Rajabai Tower opposite to this Hall is a gift of a merchant prince viz., Premchand Roychand. It is a good example that has been followed by many other rich merchants and businessmen who made very generous donations such as Sir Jamsedji Jeejeebhoy, Sir Jacob Sasson, Mr. Singhanee, Mr. R. T. Mody, Sir Dorabji Tata, Rao Bahadur P. K. Kotawala, Sir Homi Mehta, Sir Currimbhoy Ibrahim, Sir Vassanji Trikamji, Topiwala and the Ruia families, the Bombay Mill-owners' Association and Sir Bomanji J. Wadia, to name only a few out of those that created endowments having direct connections with the University of Bombay or its affiliated colleges situated in Bombay. Bombay possesses also several institutions where research in various directions has been carried on for many decades. There is the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society which was started as far back as 1804 under the name of Literary Society of Bombay and the members of which were originally Europeans alone, who being interested in our country made very valuable contributions for spreading the knowledge of the Literature, History, Philosophy and Antiquities of this country. Then there is the Cama Institute founded in honour of the late Mr. K. R. Cama which is doing very useful and valuable work for the study of Avesta and Pahlavi and the Parsi Religion. We have also here the Indian Historical Society at the St. Xavier's College which owes its rise to the inspiration of the Rev. H. Heras, S.J. Then we have the Prince of Wales Museum (presided over for 16 years by one of the Vice-Chairmen of the Reception Committee, viz. Dewan Bahadur K. M. Jhaveri), which has in its possession many records on stone and copper relating to the antiquities of India and many other objects of antiquarian interest. There is the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan which owes its rise and development to the inspiring personality of Mr. K. M. Munshi, another of our Vice-Chairmen. You may have noticed that we have tried to make our programme as interesting as possible. We are glad to have received messages and greetings from various learned bodies in India and in Europe, some of which will be read out to you by the General Secretary later on. We are doing our best to make your brief stay amongst us as pleasant as possible, but we are afraid that owing to circumstances mostly beyond our control we cannot offer to you all the hospitality and all the amenities that in other days would have been possible for us in Bombay.

I do not desire to take much of your time by dwelling upon many other subjects which rise to my mind but which I am sure will be dealt with adequately by the General President of the Conference and by the Section Presidents in their respective addresses. I hope that in the years to come the new rich, that have emerged during the last few years owing to the effects of the War and its aftermath, will emulate the wealthy men of the past, will be benefactors of learning by coming forward to help and encourage with part of their wealth the studies pursued by Scholars in Oriental Literature, Philosophy and Arts. I have high hopes that although the city of Bombay is often spoken of as a city of mammon worshippers, the generosity of its merchant princes and businessmen will make people look upon Bombay as a place where both **Laxmi** and **Sarasvati** dwell together in amity, unity and mutual help, that was the ideal of the great Kalidasa and that this city will present an outstanding example of co-operation and co-existence of wealth and learning.

Once again I offer you a very cordial welcome to this Conference and hope that your deliberations during these three days will add to the knowledge and pursuit of Oriental studies.

3. Presidential Address of Prof. Dr. Sushil Kumar De, M. A. B. L. D. Litt. General President All India Oriental Conference, Bombay.

Your Excellency, Mahamahopadhyaya Kane, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I thank you sincerely for electing me to preside over this fifteenth session of the All-India Oriental Conference held in the historic city of Bombay. Coming, as it does, from fellow-workers in the field of Oriental studies, it is a great honour—in fact the highest in their gift— which I gratefully appreciate. I have been connected with this Conference in various capacities ever since its third session held at Madras in 1924 ; and perhaps in recognition of the little service that I may have rendered, you have been so kind to me. But this Chair had been occupied before me by very distinguished and veteran orientalists, who were giants in their own sphere of work. It is good to remember them and have some of them with us here ; but the contrast is so great that it really overwhelms me because of personal inadequacy. Two of your former Presidents, Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Haraprasad Sastri and Professor F. W. Thomas, had been my own Gurus. With profound homage to Pūrvācāryas, I must say that I have neither their great scholarship nor their mature experience. Your courtesy only reminds me of the classic lines of Bhartṛhari :

परगुणपरमाणून्पर्वतीकृत्य नित्यं
निजहृदि विलसन्तः सन्ति सन्तः कियन्तः ॥

"There are some good men who are always enlivened in their minds by exalting even the smallest particles of virtue of others to the size of a mountain."

Since *maunam sarvārtha-sādhanam* is a counsel of wisdom, I should have been glad if the function of the President were merely to keep silence and listen. But it is customary to deliver an opening address. As I read the speeches of my predecessors in office, I shrink from the temerity of following in the trail so finely blazed by them, even though I have faith in the forbearance of my learned audience. It is expected that the President should pass in review the progress of oriental studies and offer suggestions. But since this has been done so well by some of your former Presidents, and since only a year has elapsed from the last session, there is not much progress to report. Your Conference, again, is of bewildering magnitude. It has thirteen main sections including, as it does, practically all aspects of Aryan, Iranian, Semitic, Dravidian and even pre-historic culture. You regard nothing of human knowledge foreign to you provided it has an oriental flavour. But no human being can embrace all these branches of knowledge in one purview. Fortunately, each of your sections is guided by a specially qualified Chairman whose address, I believe, would give you a competent review of the work done. I have neither the time nor the ability to do so. Besides, I know, I am addressing an assembly of experts. I can say nothing to you that you do not know ; for most of you have pursued oriental studies with life-long devotion. I will, therefore, confine myself to one or two things of practical importance, which I have myself felt in course my own work, with reference to oriental learning in general and this Conference in particular.

As you know, this Conference was started in 1919, and today it passes its thirty years of uninterrupted existence. By a curious coincidence—or is it deliberate?—the first session at Poona was held exactly on the 5th, 6th and 7th of November. The Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute has done many daring things in its time, but one of the most daring things it did was the inauguration of this Conference, when the Institute itself was barely one year old, and its resources, barring its youthful enthusiasm, were extremely limited. But there can be no doubt that the Conference was started under the best of auspices, having been set in motion with the blessings of one of the most illustrious oriental scholars of the present time, Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar, who was its first President. This very distinguished gathering of oriental scholars and promoters of oriental scholarship is itself an indication that it has justified its existence. All its fourteen biennial sessions held at different centres had been very largely attended; and the Conference today has grown into such an unwieldy body that it has sometimes become difficult, in these days of restricted rationing and accommodation, to find a host generous enough to lodge, feed and arrange transport for us—three to four hundred people at the least computation—for three days, especially when we remember that the orientalists are proverbially sensitive people.

In fact, the growing size of the Conference is as much a source of gratification as of anxiety to its organisers; and suggestions have been mooted from time to time to impose certain limitations. But it would not have been right to cut down spontaneous enthusiasm, which itself is an eloquent testimony that oriental learning is not yet dead in this country. This Conference, from the very beginning, aimed at being an all-India body which would look after the entire field of Orientalia instead of dealing with it piecemeal. It came into existence at a time when the International Congress of Orientalists stopped its sessions during the first World-war. This Eurpoean Congress met once in three years, and had within its purview such an extensive Asiatic field that purely Indian subjects did not receive as much attention as they required. The time was opportune for having an all-India organisation for more intensive and thorough-going review of all that appertained to Indian studies. When the first session was held in 1919, the only learned body of all-India status and comprehensive programme that existed was the Indian Science Congress founded in 1913, although lesser bodies with restricted interests like the Indian Mathematical Conference, the Numismatic Society of India and the Indian Economic Association had come into being in 1907, 1910 and 1913 respectively. At the present time, we have a large number of specialist organisations, among which may be mentioned the Indian Philosophical Congress (1924), the Linguistic Society of India (1928), the Indian History Congress (1935) and the Indian Political Conference (1938). Some of these associations are, in a sense, off-shoots of this parent body and possess members in common; but their specialised work, in spite of some inevitable overlapping, does not render ours entirely nugatory. Although, unfortunately, we do not receive the magnificent State patronage which the Science Congress does, and would do in modern times, we have yet the same advantage of wider topical range, and can co-ordinate in the same way the different but allied spheres of oriental study.

After attaining thirty years of existence, one may say that this Conference is *sui juris*. It would, therefore, be not inappropriate at this stage to pause and consider the total value of our achievement. One thing would strike even a casual observer. Before the Conference came into existence, western countries were regarded, and rightly too, as the centres of modern Indological study and research ; but things are changed in thirty years' time, resulting in the shifting of the centre from Europe to India. I do not claim that the change is complete, or that it has been brought about entirely by this Conference. While there is a general decline of interest and inspiration for oriental studies in Europe, the Universities and different learned bodies in India have certainly done a great deal in promoting oriental research. The large number of research organs and organisations, which have sprung up in the meantime, bear witness to an undoubted awakening in this respect. But I do claim that this Conference is one of our earliest Pathikṛts, which pursued this objective steadily and brought about a corporate feeling among workers in the same field. Its biennial sessions held at chief centres of intellectual activity have effectively furnished the needed contact of mind to mind and gave facilities for constant mutual co-operation and exchange of ideas, which undoubtedly is one of the greatest functions of a periodical Conference like this.

It should be borne in mind that oriental research in this country had to proceed against heavy odds. There is as yet no central organisation for co-ordinating research and offering necessary assistance to earnest workers. There was at one time such a scheme before the Central Government, but like most government schemes it never took an effective shape. This Conference by its very nature could not directly undertake such a responsiblility, althought it has been a central meeting place of interested scholars from all provinces of India. The different Universities and Institutes, no doubt, have their modest plan and effort, which have in most cases been fruitful ; but it is obvious that these small and isolated attempts can hardly serve the larger national purpose. There are also in this country very few well equipped libraries of sufficient standard and magnitude to help higher study in oriental subjects. It is true that there are large collections of valuable manuscripts at different centres of India, but not all of them are readily accessible or afford facilities for work ; and very few of them are equipped with rotograph or photostat machines. How many scholars, again, can afford, even if he wishes, to travel long distances to consult the manuscripts, or obtain costly copies even where they are available ? We must not forget that the career of research is indeed an arduous one. It is a slow, and sometimes a costly, affair. It takes long years of patience and persistence for a piece of work to mature, and sufficient funds are not available in this country to attract, sustain and encourage brilliant types of worker. There is also not much provision, as there is in Europe and America, for a thorough training in modern methods of research, without which all work would be mere theorising or empty word-spinning.

As early as 1924, one of your Presidents, Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Ganganath Jha, declared that oriental research had not received that attention in this country which was its birthright. Even today the reproach holds true ; but in spite of difficulties and drawbacks, there can be no doubt that scholarly research in India has taken slow but sure strides. Apart from individual efforts, one can refer, for instance, to the enterprise of the various learned series at Calcutta, Poona, Baroda, Allahabad, Benares, Lahore, Madras, Mysore, Trivandrum, Hyderabad and other centres, which have been publishing a large number of valuable texts and studies. Of Sanskrit there are more than sixteen such series, even if for Avestic, Arabic and Persian the number unfortunately would be about eight. It is true that considering the wealth of material, as well as the large number of problems which still await investigation, all this is hardly adequate for a vast country of diverse interests like India, while the means available are restricted and publication is necessarily slow. Nevertheless, a beginning has been made in the right direction. Much indeed yet remains to be done, and Dr. Belvalkar in his Presidential address at Benares is undoubtedly right in sounding a note of warning about the maintenance of a high standard of workmanship ; but there can be little doubt that we have a perceptible development of the scientific spirit, and a great deal of intensive research is being steadily carried on into difficult and obscure problems.

When we remember that the field is limitless and earnest workers necessarily few, the general output is far from discouraging. This is not a complacent self-estimate, for the high level attained by Indian scholarship was admitted by no less a competent foreign authority than Dr. F. W. Thomas in his Trivandrum address in 1937.

It would, however, be a mistake to think that this Conference is merely a kind of clearing house for oriental studies. It is true that its main concern is with such studies ; but meeting only for three days once in two years, and possessing extremely restricted resources, it can hardly undertake a fully satisfactory programme in this respect. One may think that there is too much strenuous work, as well as strenuous relaxation, crowded within the limits of three days ! The ideal Conference would, no doubt, be one in which there is abundance of time for leisurely discussion and leisurely relaxation; but as things are in this busy and hard-pressed world, where time as well as provision for hospitality, cannot be unlimited, this is not possible. In my opnion, the chief value of a Conference like this is that it affords an opportunity to scholars, engaged in the same or kindred lines of work, to meet and establish personal contacts, which are perhaps of more patent and lasting impression than mere formal discussion of prepared papers. Our immediate concern is, of course, the encouragement of oriental learning ; but let us ask ourselves—to what end ? Is the end nothing more than the intellectual satisfaction of the individual scholar, or even the larger gratification of national vanity ? These ends have their uses ; but the ultimate object of a Conference like this must be the speeding of the corporate scholarly mind of India to contribute to its progress by systematised reconstruction of a comprehensive picture of all that the mind of India stood for in the past. I believe, we have, to a great extent, succeeded in achieving this object. Under the inspiration of a succession of great scholars and patrons of scholarship, the Conference today has ripened into a living organ of Indian culture and fellowship. This is the heritage, the heritage of good deeds, entrusted to us, to those who have met here today ; it should be our endeavour to transmit it unimpaired.

For, the work of the orientalist in India is far from being complete. You all know that in every department of oriental learning there is yet scope for much work and improvement. While smaller problems can be tackled by the single-handed effort of individual scholars, Mahamahopadhyaya P. V. Kane in his Presidential address at Nagpur has already indicated to you a large number of subjects which have been undertaken or still await the co-operation of a band of scholars. But a mere enumeration of desiderata would be of no practical use, nor would it do to suggest schemes unless there is opportunity of putting them into effect. I would, therefore, refrain from the attempt. But I may be permitted to refer in this connexion to certain drawbacks which still beset oriental scholarship and against which we should be on our guard.

Really good work, as you know, demands great critical acumen and accuracy, infinite patience and labour, and above all sobriety and fairness of judgment. No one can say that the Indian scholar is lacking in these qualities ; but let there be no misunderstanding when I say that we often fail to conform to these requirements in cases where our sentiments are concerned. Chauvinistic impulse often obscures the critical attitude, while traditional orthodoxy hampers us in our search for truth. Our philosophical temperament often makes us prone to ignore solid facts and indulge complacently in abstract generalisation. We jump to conclusions from meagre data, and often forget that the hasty tendency to lay down the law is fatal to all scholarship. It is indeed sad to reflect that, barring honourable exceptions, the Indian scholar, when compared with his European colleague, often falls far lower in the scale, in the extent, duration and persistence of effort, in the freedom and variety of outlook, in the standard of workmanship and in the mass of actual output. The reproach is not entirely unjust that, generally speaking and without reference to particular achievenent, India has not yet attained the same international standard in the field of oriental research, as it has done, for instance, in the sphere of modern science.

We have our peculiar vantage-ground, as well as high tradition of scholarship ; but it would not do for us to remain satisfied with what we possess and what we have achieved, and refuse to learn. There is unfortunately a tendency to underrate the value as much of modern method, on the one hand as of traditional method, on the other. The traditional method is our own, but the importance of the modern method cannot be ignored. Both pursue the same end, and there is no inherent or irreconcilable contradiction. Exaggerated conservatism, which would extol the one, is as bad and barren as supercilious modernism, which would condemn the other. It is a mistake to think that the old method has outlived its utility ; it is without doubt peculiarly suited to the deep understanding and mastery of our language and literarture ; and the stupendous learning of the old type should not be allowed to vanish. But if we are to progress we must look around and ahead. It is important to emphasise in these days that nothing is more childish, more false and more harmful than the ignorant conceit of a narrow nationalism which pretends to neglect or disown everything coming from outside. In refusing to admit, without examination, any merit in foreign scholarship we not only confess ourselves out of date but also display a sensitiveness, which is often a sign of weakness. In the sphere of learning there is room for all. No one denies that the foreign scholar has his obvious limitations, but we must learn what we have to learn from him, and revise our own ideas in that light. I may remind you that this antagonism was rare in ancient days, for India received as much as she bestowed. Speaking, for instance, of the pre-eminence of Greeks in the domain of Astrology, Garga says :

म्लेच्छा हि यवनास्तेषु सम्यक् शास्त्रमिदं स्थितम् ।
ऋषिवत्तेऽपि पूज्यन्ते किं पुनर्दैवविद्द्विजः ॥

"The Yavanas are indeed Mlecchas, but this science has been well established among them. Even they are honoured like Ṛṣis, not to speak of a Brāhmaṇa who is well versed in Astrology".

These are not merely high-sounding platitudes which I am repeating. If we are to recover our good name in scholarship we must wake up and face realities. Let us lay aside our misguided conservatism, on the one hand, and arrogant radicalism, on the other, both of which are not indicative of the honestly critical and truth-finding attitude. We glory rightly in the achievement of our forefathers, but let us ask ourselves what we have done in our generation to deserve our priceless heritage. There was a time when scholarly pilgrims from outside used to come to India to learn. It behoves us today to recover that reputation. As you are all aware, orientalism in the last century lost far more ground than it gained in this country. The credit belonged at one time to European scholarship of reviving a critical and historical study of oriental subjects. If today the current of oriental scholarship is no longer a strong and fertilising stream in Europe and America, is it not desirable that we in India should make a strenuous attempt to divert it to its native channel and see that it does not lose force for all time ? Oriental learning, in the fitness of things, must have its permanent home in the land of caves, temples and mosques ; and it entirely depends on us that we realise this worthy object.

In this connexion I should like to draw your attention to an important question arising out of the wide-spread popular neglect of classical study, which does not really bear upon its value as a subject of research but upon its place in education and society. Dr. R. C. Majumdar, your last President, referred to this question and suggested as a remedy that a higher place should be given to oriental subjects in our system of education. He is right, but the question is deeper than a larger inclusion of classical subjects in the syllabus of schools, colleges and Universities. It is really a question of entire re-orientation of our century-old educational policy. This is not the place to enter fully into the problem, but since this Conference is vitally interested in oriental learning, you will allow me to offer a few words.

It is well known that in our present-day educational set-up, Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian are indeed recognised, but they do not hold their former place of honour, nor are they widely or earnestly studied. One of the reasons of this neglect may be that modern life has now developed its own complicated problems for which no adequate solution can be found in purely literaray pursuits, much less in the pursuit of the time-worn language and literature of antiquity. There can be no doubt that with changing times the more urgent impact of modern learning has led to a marked decline of classical study. In his struggle for existence the modern man is forced to pay more attention to what is called useful knowledge ; and if he is not exactly contemptuous, he is certainly indifferent to the apparently fruitless learning of a bygone age, which, in his opinion, is unsuitable to modern ways of life.

There is much to be said in favour of this view when we have regard to modern conditions of life ; and what is happening in India is only an aspect of the world-wide depreciation of classical studies. But this is perhaps not the only explanation. The mischief really began in the last century when the State policy was momentously determined in favour of Western education in utter disregard of Eastern learning. Macaulay's famous Minute of 1835, which did this, not only settled the future medium of expression and instruction, but also made it easy for Western culture to dominate ; for it really paved the way to a break with the past and living in the present. Instead of a wise correlation of the two cultures of the East and the West, which were strangely brought face to face, the policy which was adopted was frankly one of aggressive westernisation through the medium of the almost exlusive English education. It shook the very foundation of eastern culture and relegated oriental learning to a secondary and gradually insignificant place. It is true that even eighteen years before Macaulay wrote his Minute, there was a spontaneous demand for modern English education, which had led to the establishment of the famous Hindu College in 1817, not by government, but by the prominent citizens of Calcutta. Macaulay accurately gauged the existing demand, and was certainly right in not withholding the knowledge which the people themselves wanted at a time when their political destiny brought them within the gates. But where he went wrong was that in his over-emphasis on western learning he brushed aside eastern learning altogether. When he declared too confidently and sweepingly that "English is better worth knowing than Sanskrit and Arabic", as being presumably the key to useful knowledge, he took a narrowly utilitarian view, and did not realise that the study of Sanskrit and Arabic in this country had-a special and peculiar claim for full recognition.

But the usefulness of western education had become so vivid in the last century that educated Indians themselves, much less an impatient foreigner like Macaulay, could not pause to think otherwise. Even Ram Mohun Roy, himself a competent Sanskrit scholar, declared that the study of Sanskrit would only conciliate old prejudice and propagate effete ideas. Impressed by the tremendous effect of the new learning, no one had the patience to demonstrate, with good reason, that for India the ancient learning had a peculiar significance and importance, and that without it our system of education would be one-sided and insufficient. The so-called Orientalists of the time, in opposition to the Anglicists, leaned upon the comparatively weak argument of the excellence of Indian literature and philosophy. Even admitting this contention, it was easy enough to show that there was no dearth of excellence in European literature and philosophy, and the argument proved of little avail. In those days the different branches of oriental literature had not yet been properly explored, and oriental studies had not yet fully and critically developed. The time had not yet come when one could insist with deeper insight upon the cultural and humanistic, as well as scientific, value of oriental studies in the sphere of history, religion, morals and society, or in the appreciation of literary and linguistic problems of far-reaching interest. It was not properly understood in those days, and it is not properly understood even today, that oriental studies furnish to us the key to the understanding of our own culture and tradition, of our own ways of life and thought, of our own manners and morals, in fact of ourselves. It is for this imperfect understanding that we failed to do justice to what was great and good in our ancient learning ; and as a result, oriental studies, which were merely suffered to exist, were never assigned their proper place in our educational scheme, which became alien in character and outlook from the very beginning.

For, in our excessive zeal for western learning in the last century we forgot that the attitude was severing national education from the roots of national life. No doubt, such a stimulus as was furnished by western education was needed at the moment, and it was right that such a stimulus was eagerly sought and obtained. It would not be just to deny that western education had been productive of immense benefit ; and without it we would have been out of date in an advancing world. But in the educational policy, which was hastily enunciated in the last century, no attempt was made to adapt the old learning to changing social and political needs, or the new learning to national sentiment and outlook.

With the awakening of national consciousness in the 20th century we have perhaps attained greater balance of mind and have become less strong believers in the superior virtue of an alien civilisation ; but have we had time to pause and look back and revise our partial notions ? In spite of Committees and Commissions, have we really considered the problem in its entirety from the point of view of national good, or have haphazardly carried on, with occasional patchwork and tinkering, the old policy which itself came into being haphazardly ? Have we yet fully and seriously realised that no national system of education can fully succeed at the cost of alienation of what is deep-rooted in national sentiment and culture ? It is not suggested, contrary to teachings of history, that a nation can go back many centuries to its primitive rule of life. We believe in Modern India ; but however much we think we are emancipated from old ideas and strive to lead a modern life, we cannot eliminate that inherited and ingrained mass of beliefs and usages, which are not *corpus mortuum*, but the very basis of our mental and social well-being. Speaking of Sanskrit study, Professor F. W. Thomas, who had himself written in 1891 on the History and Prospects of English Education in India, observed the anomaly and spoke discerningly in 1937 : "For higher education on the humanistic side, the Sanskrit is in India an imperative requirement.... With the aid of English it is, no doubt, possible in large centres to lead an entirely modern and international life of political and social interests and amusements. But such a life divorced from the total milieu and dependent upon stimulus from abroad, is without roots in its own soil, and related to its surroundings rather by irritation than by sympathy."

We believe that we are now at the dawn of a more constructive era. We have no blind faith in the blessings of the new culture, and we value the culture that we have inherited. Is it not time that the two cultures should find a common ground in our educational system ? This can be done not merely by including more extensively oriental subjects in our curriculum of study, but by an entire change of the State policy in education, which alone can incline the popular mind to the right direction. If a century ago the State policy devised a system of preponderately western education, and we adopted the system without much thinking, it is time that there should be a re-orientation of that policy, so as to assign an equal place of dignity and importance to the new and the old learning on the firmer basis of national consciousness.

As your spokesman, I cannot refrain from expressing our deepest concern that the Radhakrishnan Committee could not look at the problem from this point of view . There had been a similar decline of classical studies in England, and a Committee was appointed by Lloyd George in 1919 "to ascertain the right position of the Classics in the whole system of education". Similar Committees were also set up to investigate the position to be assigned to modern languages and to natural sciences. Although the problem is somewhat different, what these Committees reported applies with much greater force to the question now becoming so vital in India. All these Committees, including the one on Classics, came to the emphatic conclusion that "men of every school of thought" would consider "that it would be a national disaster if classical study were to disappear from our education or to be continued to a small class of the community." It is most extraordinary that those who are responsible for national education in India should overlook this decision ; for Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian are certainly more intimately related to modern Indian languages than Greek and Latin are to English, both from linguistic and cultural points of view. What is considered to portend a national disaster in England is, strangely enough, passed over in India in similar circumstances as a matter of not much importance. We speak of our national heritage, but we do not spend much thought over its adequate preservation.

There is one more topic, affecting the future of this Conference, to which I want to refer before I finish. When the Conference came into existence thirty years ago, we made a discreet limitation of its activity to India alone. But the work of the orientalist in the interval has taken a new turn, and Indian subjects today refuse to acknowledge geographical limits. We can no longer afford to ignore extra-Indian expansion or pre-Indian influence ; for the scope and extent of Indian culture had been almost co-terminus with the Central and South Asian continent. Mesopotamian, Iranian, Greek, Islamic, Turko-Mongol and possibly Cretan and Egyptian cultures have at different periods reacted upon the Indian ; while we have to take into account the daughter cultures of Southeast Asia. We acknowledge this, to a certain extent, in the work of this Conference. Primacy is no doubt given to Sanskrit and Sanskritic languages ; but since the culture of Islam is the youngest of Asiatic cultures, and those of Iran and India (including Dravidian) the oldest, we represent these interests also. But it is now felt that for effective inspiration we should also establish contact with those surrounding countries of Asia from which India never stood in isolation.

Allow me to illustrate my point by taking one or two instances. The Buddhistic studies can no longer be handled effectively by a scholar who has attainments merely in Pali and Sanskrit ; the knowledge of Tibetan, Chinese and other languages is now considered to be a *sine qua non*, and contact with Buddhist countries outside India has become a growing necessity. So also with Prakrit studies ; the Kharo thī documents from Central Asia are written in a form of Prakrit, and this branch of knowledge similarly takes us outside India. The Vedic studies similarly require a knowledge of Avestic literature. The Mohenjodaro discoveries, again, have opened up an endless vista of prehistory, connecting them with ancient Assyria, Sumer, Elam and countries further westward. For these studies there is no provision as yet in India. It is felt that a direct contact with these countries will lead to an awakening of greater interest, with the practical result of creating proper facilities for these studies in India.

But the gain would be more than merely academic. In the post-war world when Asiatic nations are thrown closer, when the means of communication are easier, it is felt that the cultural relations between India and other countries of Asia should be revived. The Conference can do this, I would suggest, by inviting representatives from these countries ; and without abandoning its Indian character it may periodically expand itself into a kind of Asiatic Conference of Oriental learning. If sufficient response comes, some of its sessions may be held, by invitation, at various centres outside India. In an age of infinitely extended horizon, both spatial and temporal, of enlarged appreciation of interracial and international relations of culture, free India to-day is aspiring to be a great Asiatic state. But independence can never mean isolation. We are no politicians, but we feel that it behoves India to enhance her prestige and take the lead by establishing an All-Asiatic forum of ancient cultures. The bonds of learning are universal, and the bringing together of scholars from different Asiatic countries in a common Assembly would be an essentially unifying factor by promoting good will and fellowship. At different times in human history peoples have given and partaken of the best of each other. The sum-total of human knowledge at the present day represents the collective contribution of nations, great and small, dead and living. In this great community, the East, especially India, had a large share, and we are rightly proud of it. If the missionary and commercial enterprise of India, famed in history, went far and wide in establishing cultural relationship, should not our academic enterprise do the same in modern times? The countries of Asia must understand each other, and there is no better place for such understanding than a common assembly of learning, which can work out a new partnership in the light of past cultural relations. This is, no doubt, an ambitious scheme which I suggest, but since oriental scholarship to day is claiming a wider Asiatic range, I would earnestly request this Conference to enlist the sympathy of our new State and explore the possibilities of creating a wide-spread intellectual comradeship among oriental scholars of Asia.

For, in the world of today, the oriental scholar does not stand isolated, but has an important role to play. In these days of darkness and travail of the spirit, when the world is on the rack and is bleeding to death, when spiritual values are being obscured by materialistic doctrines which treat man as machine and brute-force as god, such a Conference of Orientalists can be and should be of great help in restoring balance of mind and finer sense of values by its detachment and unbiassed search of scientific truth, by a revival of interest in the past leading to an enrichment of life in the present. In a world of stress and strife this is the only place where one should find peace and good will in the exalted spirit of the Vedic prayer for peace which Hindus utter on auspicious occasions. (*AV*, xix. 9. 14) :

यदिह घोरं यदिह क्रूरं यदिह पापं तच्छान्तं तच्छिवं सर्वमेव शमस्तु नः ॥

"What here is terrible, what here is cruel, what here is evil, be that appeased, be that propitious, be everything also well-being for us".

With profound obeisance to the Sarasvatī Gotra, to which you were collectively relegated by the French Savant, Professor Sylvain Levi, who was your second President, I take the liberty of reminding you that the work of the scholar, though remote, is no less essential, and that the study of humanities is not barren pedantry. Like Browning's Grammarian, if you are hammering at the complexities of ancient grammar, you are at the same time hammering out the keys that unlock the treasures of ancient thought. In the midst of all difficulty and discouragement that you many encounter in the present-day world, you should be sustained with feeling that you are working, not with transient things, but with things that matter and endure.

May your work add to the sum-total of human knowledge and happiness (*RV*. X 191. 2) :

सं गच्छध्वं सं वदध्वं सं वो मनांसि जानताम् ॥

4. Presidential Address: Vedic Section (I)

BY PROF. VISHVA BANDHU SHASTRI, HOSHIARPUR.

The call of Vedic Text-criticism

ॐ धीधामप्रचेतिन्यै शब्दब्रह्मस्वयंभुवे । भगवत्यै सरस्वत्यै भूयो भूयो नमो नम : ॥ १ ॥
ऋषीन्वन्दे मुनीन्वन्दे वन्दे चैव गुरूनहम् । सर्वान्वेदविदो वन्दे पूर्वपश्चिमदिक्प्रभान् ॥ २ ॥
नानावृत्ति पदब्रह्म तत्समं तद्भवं च यत् । वेदराशिस्वरूपं तच्छ्रद्धया हृदये दधे ॥ ३ ॥
चन्द्रार्कौ जगत : प्रकाशनविधौ सत्यं यदि स्तो ध्रुवौ
पापस्यापहती च साधुचरितं दुर्दारशस्त्रं ध्रुवम् ।
विद्यावैभवमङ्गलस्य खलु तत् कुर्यु : समन्ताद् भुवि
वेदज्ञानमरीचय : सुमहसश्चारुं प्रसारं ध्रुवम् ॥ ४ ॥
मूलं भारतसंस्कृते : सुविपुलं वेदा लसन्तोऽवना-
वार्याचारविचारसाररुचिरां तन्वन्तु वृद्धिं पराम् ।
तेषां यैरपि तत्परै:सुमहद्भिर्निष्कामसेवा कृता
वन्द्यास्ते सततोपकाररतय : स्वेनात्मना याज्ञिन : ॥ ६ ॥
सत्साहित्यसमादरेण सुधियां चेज्जीवते साफली
स्वान्त:स्वास्थ्यकरी महौषधवटी स्याच्चेत् कृतज्ञा मति : ।
मानश्चेदभिजातपौरुषवतां दायाद्यसंरक्षणात्
तद्वेदापचितौ रता सुकृतिनी धन्येयमार्या सभा ॥ ६ ॥

Introductory

Friends,

The news of my election to the Presidentship of this Section was received by me with great surprise. I had not been able so far to get into anything like close association with this august body and therefore, had no direct experience of its traditions and transactions. Naturally, I felt diffident ; and, more so, because I saw that I had no claim to this high honour. It was true that I had been doing some work in this field, but in spite of the twenty-five years that had been spent on it, it had not yet advanced beyond the most elementary stage of making word-indexes to about five hundred texts, which formed the material basis of the vedic lexicographical scheme as undertaken by the Vishveshvaranand Institute. I, however, accepted this office from an urge that even though unable to make any contribution to the deliberations we might have before us, I should avail myself of this opportunity of getting out of my old, encrusted shell to receive light and guidance from many a learned friend whose great names I had known since long but whom I had not had the good fortune of meeting so far. And, so, here am I at your service with my heart full of deep gratitude to the learned friends who have conferred this great honour on this humble self and, also, with full confidence that I shall receive all possible co-operation from the learned friends present here who, aware as they are of my difficulties owing to the still unsettled and unrehabilitated condition of my Institute, may be pleased to overlook my shortcomings which, I know, are too many.

When, long ago, I waited upon a high dignitary of the University of Bombay to enlist the support of the University in favour of the Vishveshvaranand Institute, he told me that it was intent on developing its technological side and had nothing to spare for Indological research. Fortunately for all concerned, he had spoken out only his own mind and his remarks did not reflect, in general, the real attitude of the elite of this great Province where Bhandarkar, Tilak and their other learned contemporaries first lit the torch of Indological research which the following generations of trained Indologists have spared no pains to keep a-glow. In respect of our own particular field, it fills one's heart with real joy to see Vaidika-Saṁshodhana-Mandala and other similar centres undertaking and completing vast schemes of text-publication and individual Vedists like Professors R.N. Dandekar, V. M. Apte, H. D. Velankar, K. R. Potdar, R. B. Athawale, S. S. Bhawe, J. S. Karandikar, H. R. Karnik, B. R. Kulkarni and N. J. Shende making varied and useful contribution to Vedic scholarship. In our deep regard for these great traditions and associations we might as well forget the Bombay that is of commerce and industry and assemble here rather as on a pilgrimage.

Dr. R. N. Dandekar, my worthy predecessor in this office at the last session, referred to 'the truly voluminous work done in the field of Vedic Philology since very early times' and, on the basis of the same, rightly asserted 'that Vedic Philology has fully established its claim as, in every sense, the premier branch of Indology.' In reference to recent times too, he said, 'that work of great merit has been, and is still being, produced in different departments of Vedic Philology, such as text-critical editions of major vedic texts, and publication of minor Vedic texts ; Vedic exegesis ; literary study of Veda ; linguistic and grammatical studies relating to the Veda ; lexicographical and bibliographical works and cultural history of the age of the Veda, comprising literary history, social and political history, and history of Vedic Philosophical thought, mythology and religious practices.' As indicated by him further on, 'by far the most voluminous work has however been produced regarding the social, political and religious history of the Vedic age.' Thus, out of the 6500 and

3500 entries registered in their excellent Vedic Bibliographical surveys by Drs. Renou and Dandekar, as many as 5,000 (i.e. 77%) and 2900 (i.e. 83%). respectively, pertain to general studies, historical and cultural, and, the balance (i.e. 23% and 17% respectively) covers the entire remaining publication-field relating to text-editions, indexical and lexical works, and translations and commentaries. And, out of the total of 2100 entries pertaining to these latter, 1500 relate to the text-publications, as many as 1100 of which appeared before 1930 and only 400 after that date. The glaring contrast between the figure 400 of the text-publications, on the one hand, and the figure 2900 of the general studies, on the other, as pertaining to the thirties and forties of this century, apparently lends weight to the general belief that the Vedic text-critical studies which began, in recent times, a little over a century ago, have by now been fairly completed, and, 'that,' as emphasised by Dr. Dandekar, 'time has now certainly come to make a concerted effort to plan and execute an English translation, with full exegetical notes, of the entire Ṛgveda-Samhitā.' That, by no means, this is so, and that, against general expectation though, the still crying need of Vedic scholarship is the reinstitution, on sound principles, of further pursuance of the Vedic text-critical studies should be evident from some random textual data that I propose now to submi just by way of illustration, for your consideration.

In what follows, the same uniform system of accentuation is used as has been adopted in my Vedic Word-Concordance. In this system, only the accent proper of a word, which can be either Udātta or Independent Svarita, is indicated, the former by a horizontal under-stroke as we have in SB., and the latter by a vertical up-stroke as we have in RV., VS., VSK., TS. TB., TA., TU. and AV. In the matter of abbreviations of text-names, I have generally followed here Bloomfield's Vedic Concordance.

I

RV. I, 60, 3 reads :

तं̱ न̱व्यसी हृद̱ आ̱ जा̱यमानं अस्म̱त् सुकीर्ति̱र्म̱धुजिह्वमश्याः।
य̱मृत्वि̱जो वृज̱ने मा̱नुषासः प्र̱यस्वन्त आय̱वो जी̱जनन्त॥

It consists of (1) the subordinate sentence य̱मृत्वि̱जः···जी̱जनन्त and (2) the principal sentence तं̱·········सुकीर्ति̱र्······अश्याः. All the ancient as well as the modern scholiasts have followed the Padapāṭha in reading the last word of the Pāda b as अश्याः ; but have understood it as अश्यात् i.e. 3d Pers. sing instead of 2d Pers. sing. as, apparently, it looks like. Skanda made a note of this irregularity by saying "व्यत्ययेन मध्यमः" and Sāyaṇa, further, developed this explanation by saying "लिङि व्यत्ययेन परस्मैपदमध्यमौ। 'बहुलं छन्दसि' इति विकरणस्य लुक्".

Other scholars, who have not given any explanation, have missed an important text-critical point that seems to be involved here. Before, however, discussing this point, we note below the other passages in RV. where the form अश्याः is found similarly used. Thus we have

(1) I, 69, 3 : अग्निर्देवत्वा विश्वान्यश्याः ।।

(2) I, 70, 1 : अग्निः··· विश्वान्यश्याः। आ दैव्यानि व्रता ··· आ मानुषस्य जनस्य जन्म ।।

(3) II, 31, 7 : अतक्षन्नायवो नव्यसे सम् । ··· सप्तिर्न रथ्यो अह धीतिमश्याः ।।

(4) IV, 5, 7 : तम् ··· अभि ··· धीतिरश्याः ।

(5) V, 42, 1 : प्र ··· वरुणं ··· गीर् ··· अश्याः ।

(6) V, 42, 14 : प्र सुष्टुतिः स्तनयन्तं ··· अश्याः ।

(7) V, 42, 15 : एषः स्तोमः ··· रुद्रस्य सूनून् ··· उदश्याः ।

(8) V, 42, 16 : प्रैषः स्तोमः पृथिवीम् ··· अश्याः ।

As evident from the textual punctuation signs following the word अश्याः and kept intact in the above citations, it occurs in two cases at the end of the second half-verse and in the remaining seven cases at the end of the first half-verse. It is a general practice among Veda-Pāṭhins that they recite the ending portion of a verse by extending it with unbroken continuance into the initial portion of the following verse. This phenomenon, called *Anavānatā* made the end of a verse so continuous with the beginning of the next verse that even the figure indicating the end of the previous verse was put, often, before and not after the actual terminal portion. While in most of the recent editions of the Vedic texts this practice has been dropped, it is still noticeable in some of them, particularly, in the Taittirīya editions. It is also interesting to note that a similar mode of recitation is being continued to this day in respect of poems in our modern languages too.

This practice of uninterrupted recitation of the original verb *अश्यात् with the words following it in the above nine passages seems to have given rise to a process of phonetic decay which might be indicated, serially, as follows :—

(1) RV. I, 60, 3 : *अश्यात्+युम् >अश्याद्युम् >*अश्याज्जुम् > *अश्याजुम्
>अश्याः । युम् (=Padapāṭhā).

(2) RV. I, 69, 3; 4 : *अश्यात्+नुकि :>अश्यान्नकि :> अश्यानुकि : >अश्याः ।
नुकिः (=Padapāṭhā).

(3) RV. I, 70, 1 : * अश्यात् + आ॒ > * अश्यादा॒ > * अश्या आ॒ > अश्या : । आ॒ (=Padapāṭhā).

(4) RV. II, 31, 7 (+32, 1) : * अश्यात + अस्यु॒ > * अश्यादस्यु॒ > अश्या अस्यु॒ > अश्या : । अस्यु॒ (=Padapāṭhā).

(5) RV. IV, 5, 7 : * अश्यात् + ससु॒स्य > * अश्यात्ससु॒स्य > * अश्याच्श (च्छ>छ>श) सु॒स्य > * अश्याशसु॒स्य > अश्या : । ससु॒स्य (=Padapāṭhā).

(6) RV. V, 42, 1 : * अश्यात् + पृ॒षद्योनि : > * अश्याप्पृ॒षद्योनि : > * अश्या पृ॒षद्योनि : > अश्या : । पृ॒षद्-यौनि : (Padapāṭhā).

(7) RV. V, 42, 14 : * अश्यात् + यो॒ > * अश्याद्यो॒ > * अश्याज्जो॒ > * अश्याजो॒ > अश्या : । यु॒ : (Padapāṭhā).

(8) RV. V, 42, 15 : * अश्यात् + का॒म : > * अश्याक् काम : > अश्या काम : > अश्या : । का॒म : (=Padapāṭhā).

(9) RV. V, 42, 16 : * अश्यात् + देवो॒ देव : > * अश्याद् देवो देव : > * अश्यादेवो॒ देव : > अश्या : । दे॒व :—देव : (Padapāṭhā).

Owing to the above circumstance, the Vedic textual record has become extremely poor in the verb-form अश्यात् there being just six occurrences which are now met with. And, of these, also, only two occurrences, namely, those in MS. IV, 13, 9 and TB. III, 5, 10, 5, which are identical, are genuine ; while the remaining four, found in VSK. IX, 2,7 and 8, being, as will be seen later on, of dubious nature, themselves stand in need of re-examination towards their acceptance or rejection as the case may be.

RV. I, 115 1 : आ॒ प्रा द्या॒वापृथिवी॒ अन्त॒रिक्षम्

is read as such in RV. IV, 14, 2 ; VS. VII, 42 ; XIII, 46 ; VSK. VIII, 24 ; IX, 7 ; XIV, 48 ; TS. I, 4, 43, 1 ; II, 4, 14, 4 and a number of other texts, but AV. (XIII, 2,35) reads the verbal form in the beginning as आ॒प्राद् in place of आ॒ प्रा. While Padapāṭhas of the first-mentioned texts, where available, analyse the form as आ॒ अप्रा: that of AV., on the other hand, does it, consistently with Samhitāpāṭha, as आ॒ अप्रात्. Yāska (XII, 16), Skanda, V-Mādhava and Sāyaṇa understand आ॒ प्रा of RV. in the sense of आ॒प्रात् (i.e. 3d Pers. sing.), Sayana, alone, indicating, most probably under the influence of Padapāṭha, the irrgularity as a case of *Puruṣa-vyatyaya*.

What is the explanation for the peculiar textual phenomenon which faces the Vedist here not only in the verb forms अश्या : for अश्यात् and आ॒प्रा : for आ॒प्रात्, as indicated above, but, also, in a large number of other kindred cases, profusely interspersed in the Vedic texts ? Keith attempted to tide over the difficulty by taking the verb दा (=Padapāṭha दा: against दात् as read in RV. X, 80, 4) in TS. II, 2,12, 6 : अग्नि॒र्दा द्रविणं वीर॒पेशा : as a 2nd Person form (p. 162, n. 4). In castigating this explanation as ‘ most bizarre,’ Bloomfield and Edgerton (VV. 24) have rightly explained the loss of त् (द्) in the original दात् (द्) in TS. on the phonetic basis. But this loss of final त् (द्) cannot be delimited, as they want to, to the cases where it is followed by two consonants, for, out of the nine cases cited above in which *अश्यात् has lost its त् (द्) there is *not even one* where it is followed by two consonants. In the case of आ॒ प्रा they think that it is the original sigmatic aorist 3rd Person singular form *आ॒ प्रा (स्>): that has lost (स्>): before द्या॒वापृथिवी॒ (VV. 202) and, that, therefore, the AV. reading आ॒प्राद् is of secondary nature. But this is not right, for, the sigmatic form should have been *आ॒प्रासीत् and not आ॒प्रास् which, even in the assumed absence of the following ई, should have been (* आप्रास्त<) * आप्रात् owing to the loss of the penultimate स् (Pāṇini VIII, 2,29 : स्कोः संयोगाद्योरन्ते च). Hence the variation between आ॒ प्रा of RV. etc. and * आ॒प्राद् of AV. had better be explained at par with aforesaid * दा(द्) द्र॒विणम् of TS., that is, on purely phonetic grounds. It seems that the Padapāṭha treatment of cases like दा and आ॒ प्रा as दा: and (आ॒) अप्रा: has been the source of the modern treatment of such forms under the sigmatic aorist which, as just indicated, runs counter to the aforesaid particular phonetic habit, as recorded by Pāṇini, of the speakers of OIA.

The treatment by Padapāṭha of the original *अश्यात् as अश्या : in the above-cited passages, likewise, does not seem to have any justification in grammar or phonetics. Even, if some occurrences of अश्या : (e.g. RV. I, 70, 1) be supposed to be forms of आशीर्लिङ instead of विधिलिङ, the 3rd person form should be अश्यात् and not अश्या : for the same aforesaid reason, namely, that the final conjunct sound स्त् would lose its स् instead of त्. Possibly, the cases of this type might be relics reminiscent of the dialectically or, may be manneristically variant pronunciation of their final त् (द्) as थ् (ध्), tending to be further weakened into स् (:) and, thus, get confused with the corresponding 2nd person forms in स्(:). Accordingly, Padapāṭha might just be a record of this final confusing phonetic situation. While it may be worth while to test the strength of this possibility by instituting a perfect statistical study of the Vedic texts, individually as well as in mutual comparison, one need not wait for the result of this study for deciding which way lies the work to be done by the future editors and index-makers of the Vedic texts. The Padapāṭhas might have put *अश्या etc. ending in आ as अश्या : etc., ending in आ :, either because they were not aware of the working of the aforesaid phonetic process or because they were aware of their dialectical or manneristic pronunciation as such ; but, either way, the sooner this legacy of error and confusion goes off, the better would it be for all concerned. That reputed Acharyas like Skanda and Sāyaṇa should have been misled into taking these forms as 2d person substitutes with 3d person connotation and a vigilant scholar like Keith into actually rendering one of these forms in the 2nd person should be enough to invest this kind of specialised revisional work on the Vedic texts with a high priority value. While Padapāṭhas can continue to preserve their record of the Visarga-ending forms of the aforesaid type even if only for the purposes of the history of vedic text-criticism and exegesis, we should no more follow Padapāṭhas in this matter, as we have done so far, in our Vedic text-editions and indexes where the original त् (द्) should henceforth be restored at the end of these forms.

II

In RV. I, 70, 3, Parāśara prays to Agni to protect Gods and men, alike extolling Him as

देवा॒नां ज॒न्म म॒र्तांश्च विद्वा॒न्

that is, one who knows (both) creations (that) of Gods and (that) of men.

In this rendering, the reading मर्तांश्च is sought to be amended as *म॒र्ताञ्च (=म॒र्ताम् च) on the assumption that the genitive plural म॒र्ताम् and not the accusative plural म॒र्तान्, as read at present, is wanted by the text.

Padapāṭha has the reading म॒र्तान् here and the same has been accepted by Skanda, and Sāyaṇa among the ancient Acharyas and by Dayānada and Geldner among the modern scholars. Venkaṭa-Mādhava, as evident from his paraphrase मनुष्याणाम् seems to have the genitive plural reading म॒र्ताम् before him. Oldenberg has in his Vedic Hymns and Notes referred to the similar view of Bartholomae and Lanman and upheld it. Griffith has also agreed with this view.

RV. II, 6,7 : अन्तर्ह्यग्न ईयसे विद्वा॒न् ज॒न्मोभ॒या कवे speaks of Agni as knowing the creations (ज॒न्म) of both kinds (उभ॒या), where, in between, he carries on as an envoy. Veṅkaṭa-Mādhava explains उभ॒या ज॒न्म as जन्मानि उभयानि मानुष्याणि दैव्यानि च and Sāyaṇa, following suit, जन्मानि यष्टृणां यजमानानां यष्टव्यानां देवानां च संबन्धीति उभयविधानि । As here, so in our text, too, Agni knows "both kinds (उभ॒या) of creations (ज॒न्म)" and not, as Skanda and his ancient and modern followers would misconstrue, "Gods' creations and, also, men, (not men's)". Similarly, RV. IX. 81, 2, praises Soma as Knower (विद्वा॒न्) of the creation (ज॒न्मन :) of both kinds (उभ॒यस्य), the one kind that pertains to this world (यत् इत :), naturally, of human beings, and the one of the yonder world (य॒त् अमुत :), naturally, of the Gods.

देवानां जनिमानि in RV. III, 4, 10 ; IV, 27, 2 ; VII, 42, 2 and IX, 83, 4 दै॒व्या ज॒निभानि in IX, 108, 3 ; देवा॒नां ज॒न्म in VI, 51, 2 ; 12 and दिव्या॒नि ज॒न्म X, 64,16, all, alike, refer to Gods themselves, being their own self-manifestations. At par with these, ज॒निम मा॒नुषाणाम् in RV. VI, 18 7 and VII, 62, 1 refers to men themselves, being their own self-manifestations. Agni, as described in our text, knows both these manifestations, namely, those of Gods (देवा॒नाम्) and those of men (*म॒र्ताम्=मा॒नुष्याणाम् of the other texts just referred to above).

In other words, our text म॒र्तांश्च, as obtaining at present, needs being read as म॒र्ताञ्च, of course, against Padapāṭha that, as seen above, supports the prevalent reading. The wanted genitive plural form has phonetically grown out म॒र्तानाम् through the intermediate stage *म॒र्ता आम् just as ग॒वाम् may be said to have done from गो॒नाम्(RV. I, 69, 2 ; 126, 2 etc.) through the intermediate stage गो॒आम्.

On the basis of the above study, it is likewise, certain that देवा॒ञ्ज॒न्म in RV. I, 71, 3 and VI, 11, 3 is to be taken as at par with देवा॒नां ज॒न्म (in RV. VI 51, 2 ; 12), here again, against Padapāṭha which takes it as देवा॒न् ज॒न्म. In RV. X, 64, 14, however, this very equation for the reading देवाञ्ज॒न्म, as upheld by Lanman (Noun Inflection ; 354)and Oldenberg in his Notes, cannot be accepted. A comparison between the two idioms, namely,

(1) सो॒म:…… देवा॒नां (जन्म)……अश्नोति (RV. IX 81, 2) and

(2) द्या॒वापृथिवी॒……देवा॒ञ्ज॒न्मना …… इत: (R. X, 64, 14),

which express the same action (i.e. an agent's self-identification with the line of Gods) in two different ways shows that in RV. X, 64, 14 the instrumental in ज॒न्मना is used in the sense of 'a characteristic mark' (लक्षण–). Thus, while Soma (in RV. IX, 81, 2) attains to the line of Gods i.e. himslef becomes a God ; Dyaus and Prithivi (in RV. X, 64, 14) by (Virtue of) their line (ज॒न्मना) go (i.e. belong) to Gods (i.e. देवा॒न् and not देवा॒नाम्). Padapāṭha, of course, is right in reading देवान् in RV. X, 64, 14.

RV. I, 96, 2 : स॒: (=अग्नि॒:) इमा॒: प्रजा॒ अजनथन् म॒नूनाम् speaks of Agni as the progenitor of "these children of men (i.e. mankind). The word प्रजा॒: in this passage is synonymous with and, therefore, stands for the words ज॒निम (=ज॒निमानि and जन्म (=जन्मानि) in the phrases मा॒नुषाणां जनिम, देवा॒नां ज॒निमानि and देवा॒नां ज॒न्म as cited above.

A study in this parallelism of idiom indicates that in the phrases—

(1) देवे॒भिर्म॒नुषश्च ज॒न्तुमि: (RV. III, 3, 6) and

(2) म॒नुषो विश्वांसु (RV. IV, 37, 1),

म॒नुषश्च and म॒नुषो as read at present(and supported by Padapāṭha) have to be taken as *मनुषाञ्च) (=मनुषां च)and म॒नुषाम्, respectively, genitive plural, and not singular, being necessary at both the places. While the mis-reading (*मनुषाञ्च >) मनुषश्च is evidently, rooted in an old graphic error which seems, likewise, to be the case in AV. XII, 1, 5 where वयसश्च, evidently, needs being read as व॒यसाञ्च, the other, namely *म॒नुषां वि॒क्षु > *म॒नुषाम् वि० > *म॒नुषाव् वि० > * मनुषा उ वि०>म॒नुषो वि० is of phonetic origin.

RV. VI. 55, 1 reads

ए॒हि वां॒ विमुचो नपाद्, आ॒घृणे सं॒ सचावहै।

It is a prayer to Pūṣan, in which Bharadvāja invites the God to come to him so that they might be united. In spite of Oldenberg's emphatic opposition (in his Notes), it still seems that Delbruck was right in equating वा॒म् with मा॒म् (i.e. the poet himself). Sāyaṇa sensed, all right, the contextual necessity (आकाङ्क्षा) of having here a word pointing to the singer ; but it did not strike him that वा॒म् might be a mere phonetic variation of मा॒म्, being a reflexive projection of the succesion of the sounds व् and म् in the following two syllables, विमु॒०. So, he attempted to arrive at his desideratum through the back-door of an exceedingly unconvincing etymology, nemely, √वा 'to go'*वा॒, 'one who goes to (elliptically, a hymn) i.e. a singer.'

(1) अग्ने नू॒ न एहि (RV. V, 16, 5 ; 35, 8) ;
(2) (प्रचेत :) बलदे॒याय मे (=मा इ) हि (RV. X, 83, 5) ;
(3) अयं॒ ते अस्म्यु॒प मे (=मा इ) हि (RV. X. 83, 6)

and a large number of other similar contexts do support the above view, namely, that here, also, the text, originally, read एहि माम्. In view of what has been said above in respect of a number of phonetic changes that the text of RV., undoubtedly, seems to have suffered through the ages, the present phonetic change, to say the least, is very simple. Pitted against it, Macdonell's conjecture that this वा॒म् =आवा॒म्(VG. 300) has hardly a claim to hold the field any more.

III

Agastya has addressed RV. I, 180 to Aśvins. It is couched in the Triṣṭubh metre. The first half of v. 4 reads like this :—

यु॒वं ह घ॒र्मं म॒धुमन्तम॒त्रयेऽपो॒ न॒ क्षो॒दोऽवृणीतमे॒षे।

I first render it as follows :—

For (Atri's) ease, you did keep back from him the (surge of the boiling) milk in the boiler as (one would do) the surge of the waters.

The myth has it that when Atri was busy in the Pravargya ritual, he was seized by the Asuras and thrown in the boiling milk and ghee that filled the boiler. In this plight, he thought of his guardian dieties, the Aśvins, who saved him from being fried up in the boiling contents of the boiler in which he was engulfed as they would have saved one engulfed in swelling waters from being swept away and killed. So, he came out, entirely unscathed. A reference could be made here to RV. VI, 17, 12, where the first half

आ॒ क्षो॒दो म॒हि वृ॒तं न॒दीनां परि॒ष्ठितमसृज ऊर्मि॒मपा॒म्।

speaks of the surge (क्षोदस्) of streams (of water) that had been kept back: (वृत) by Vritra as having been set free by Indra. The root प्रति√हन् conveys closely related sense of checking or counteracting in RV. VIII, 25, 15 ते॒ हि॒ …… न॒रोऽभि॒माति …… तिग्मं॒ न॒ क्षो॒दः प्र॒तिघ्नन्ति which speaks of all defiance, fierce (though it be) like a surge (क्षोदस्–) being held back by the (divine) heroes. √वृ in the same sense is also found in the second half of RV. I, 65, 3 which reads :

अ॒त्यो ना॒ज्मन् त्स॒र्गप्रतक्तः सि॒न्धुर्न॒ क्षो॒दः क॒ ईं वराते।

and, refers to the difficulty in checking the course of Agni, resembling a steed that has been urged to run in swift career and a river that is in spate.

RV. I, 116, 8 :

हि॒मेना॒ग्निं घ्रंस॒मवारथां पितु॒मतीमू॒र्जमस्मा अघत्रम्।
ऋबी॒से अ॒त्रिमश्विना॒वनीतमु॒न्निन्यथुः स॒र्वगणं स्वस्ति॒॥

provides a clear view of how Aśvins helped Atri regain perfect ease by holding back the fierce flames as if by setting up snowy screen between him and the flames and, thus so to speak, by turning them, for him, into soothing streams of nourishment.

RV. I, 119, 6 : यु॒वं …… उरुष्यथो हि॒मेन घर्मं प॒रितप्तम॒त्रये।

similarly, describes Aśvins having screaned off, for Atri, the blazing fire, as if with snow. The√उरुष्य in the sense of 'to protect' (compare, Yāska V, 23) is to be taken, it seems, as an extension of √वृ 'to cover', being a denominative verb from * व (उ) रुष (compare, [आ–] वरक–'cover' ; वल्क–, bark of a tree').

RV.X, 80, 3 : अ॒ग्नि॒रत्रिं घ॒र्मं उरुष्यदन्त॒ः speaks of Agni having protected i.e. covered, as if, with snow) Atri in the midst of the boiler.

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RV. VIII, 73, 3 : उ॒पस्तृणीतम॒त्रये हिमेन धर्म॒मश्विना

describes how Aśvins for protecting Atri from being burnt down in the boiler cooled it down by covering it up with snow. The use of उप√स्तृ 'to cover' is surely most helpful in fixing the meaning of√वृ in the present context. Finally, the first half of RV. VII, 73, 8 : वरेथे अग्नि॒मात॒पो व॒दते वल्ग्वत्र॑ये may be cited to settle, as it were, once for all, that the verb √वृ> अवृणीतम् before us has no other sense than the one attributed to it above. For, moved by Atri's plaintive hymns, the first thing that Aśvins rushed to do for his safety was that they held Agni back from burning (आत॒प :) him.

From the above citations, further supplemented by RV. I, 58, 8; 9 and 91, 15 (where उरुष्य is used likewise), we get at the following Vedic modes of expression for the present topic :

(1) We might protect(= keep covered) somebody (accusative) from another (ablative).

(2) We might protect somebody (accusative) from another (ablative) by means of a third body (instrumental).

(3) We might cover (=keep away) somebody (accusative) from another body (ablative).

(4) We might cover somebody (accusative) from another body (ablative) for (the good of) a third body (dative).

(5) We might cover somebody (accusative) from another body (ablative) by means of a third body (instrumental) for (the good of) a fourth body (dative.)

It will be observed that our text, apparently, lacks the most important element in that it is not stated from whom the *gharma* is to be kept back. Our rendering above seeks to remove this defect by assuming an old phonetic change in अत्रयऽपो.

For, possibly, the Pāda a, originally read as यु॒वं ह धर्मं॑ म॒धुमन्तम॒त्रये being in normal Triṣṭubh measure ; and, only later on, the words अ॒त्रे॑रपां॒ forming the end and the beginning, respectively, of the Pādas a and b, assumed the present subsequently emended and, therefore, secondary reading after passing through the stages *अ॒त्रेरपा॒व् > *अत्रे अपा॒ उ > *अ॒त्रे अपो॒ > *अ॒त्रे ऽपो॒. Another assumption on which the above rendering has proceeded is that the whole Pāda b originally read as अपां॒ न॒ क्षो॒दो ऽ वृणीतमम्मेषा॒य the ending portion reaching the present form, in which अवृणीतम् is to be read as four syllables, after having passed through the stages, *अवृणीतम्मेषा॒य > *अवृणीतमेषा॒य > ऽ वृणीतमेषा॒ ई > *अवृणीत मेषै॒.

Under this assumption, *भेषे॒ is a dative form, phonetically going back to (भेष॒जाय) * भेषाय (which, etymologically, I am inclined to treat as cognative with OIA. भद्र॒—, वर— ; NIA भला, ब (व)ल and Eng. well, weal, heal and ease against WW. (II,449) deriving it, after Brugmann (I. F. 28, 285) from अभि√षज्).

But, probably, the text had better be rendered as follows :—For Atri, verily you prevented (the milk in) the milk-containing boiler from burning (him) as a bank (would prevent) waters from (breaking away). According to this rendering, the last word of the present half-verse was (*एषि॒—>)*एषे॒स् (Ablative singular) which has not been able to keep its final sibilant intact, obviously, under the impact of the following त of त॒द् at the head of the Pāda c, which seems to have absorbed it through assimilation. There was a pun on the word *एषि– which, when used in the main Upameya-vākya was taken as an action-noun derived from√*एष् 'to burn' (connected with√एज्=[दीप्ति, Dhātupāṭha I, 234] and, further, upwards, with भ्राज् through भ्रेज् in the same sense). When, however, used in the Upamāna-vākya, it was taken as an action-now from√एष्, 'to move' (*Dhātupāṭha* 1, 615). In this sense, it was probably connected with √भ्रेष् (Dhātupāṭha I, 909) which by taking into consideration the use of its action-noun भ्रेष–in the sense of 'slipping' or 'going amiss,' might be said to be cognate with√भ्रंश् 'to slip,' 'to break.' It is actually used in this sense in RV. VII, 21, 6 :

नू॒चित् स॒ भ्रेषते ज॒नो न॒ रेषत्

where Sāyaṇa, rightly renders भ्रेषते by भ्रश्यति. Further, according to this rendering, Aśvins are compared to क्षो॒दस् meaning 'a bank.' Just as a bank, so to say, stands between waters and their breaking away in an unwanted manner, so did Aśvins stand between fire and its power to burn (compare, आ त॒प् of RV. VII, 73, 8 as cited above) lest it should harm Atri. क्षो॒दस् in the semse of 'a bank' might be etymologically cognate with OIA. स्कन्ध–, स्कन्धस्–कूल–, सेतु– NIA. क(ध,) धी–,क(ण्ढा,) ण्ढी, कन्हाड़ा, किनारा; and, Eng. coast, shore. We must be deeply grateful to V-Mādhava whom, alone, it struck that क्षो॒दस् could be taken in this sense. It is not known yet if it originated with him; but if it did, it was certainly wonderful.

The above-mentioned meaning of√वृ was grasped by V-Mādhava and, alternatively, by Sāyaṇa also. They, apparently, overlooked the inconsistency which, as the text stood, would, then, lie in the dative अ॒त्रये being incorrectly linked to the verb अवृणीतम्. Sāyaṇa, probably, had sensed this inconsistency because he made amends for this defect by adding another explanatory clause,

"तप्तघर्मसकाशाद् रक्षितवन्तौ"

that is to say, they saved (Atri) from the hot boiler. Apparently, still dissatisfied, he banked upon the parallelism between the present text and तप्तं॒ घ॒र्ममोम्या॒वन्तम॒त्रये……आ॒वतम् (RV I, 112, 7) in advancing an alternative explanation according to which Aśvins (first, made) the *Gharma* full of milk or ghee (मधुमत्) for Atri (and, thereby) made (him) comfortable (अवृणीतम्). Sāyaṇa knew that this second explanation could not apply to the general version of the myth, for, there could hardly be any point in making full of milk or ghee (म॒धु–) a container already full of it. So, he has mentioned another version of the myth according to which Atri was thrown in a blazing fire and not in a burning milk-boiler (महावीर). Griffith has accepted the latter explanation given by Sāyaṇa, but has finished it up with only the first of the two of his sentences by taking √वृ in the sense of 'making' (=√कृ). Geldner (RV.) has understood √वृ in the sense of 'wishing for' (i.e. 'granting to') and म॒धुमत्–simply as an adjective of घ॒र्म॑–unlike Sāyaṇa and Griffith who gave a predicative significance (विधेयता–) to म॒धुमत् in relation to घ॒र्म॑–. But this has not helped him in improving the situation in any way ; for, there could be no point, any miracle far apart, in giving to Atri the sweet pot which he already had. The pot was sweet only because it was full of sweet milk in which Atri was already wallowing. He had called Aśvins to his rescue certainly, not from the sweetness that literally surrounded him, but from the torturing heat that accompanied this sweetness and threatened him with the bitterest death even in the midst of this sweetness. So, what they did for him was that they covered (अवृणीतम्) the milk in such a miraculous way that it became free from its burning heat (*एषि॒).

V-Mādhava and Sāyaṇa understood एषे॒ as the dative singular of the agent-noun ए (आ√इ) ष्' to wish'>) *ए॒ष्, adjectively connected with अत्रये. Bohtlingk-Roth (W.) Grassmann (W.), Lanman (NI. 380) and Bannack (ZDMG. 50, 273) wanted to take it as the locative singular of the action-noun, *ए॒ष (GW. एष?) from √इष्, 'to wish'. Oldenberg (RN.) referred to the accentual incongruity in accepting either of these propositions and favoured the idea of taking एषे॒ as a dative infinitive from आ√इष् or ईष् or from √एष् 'to move'. Geldner (RV.) remained in doubt whether to take it as a dative infinitive from आ√इ 'to go' or the dative singular of the action-noun *ए॒ष् from आ√इष् 'to go'. Of course, his first choice would have been correct in accent. He followed Sāyaṇa in taking अ॒पः in the genetive case in its connection with क्षो॒दस् in the accusative case. The obvious flaw in his construction is that the simile loses its naturalness, for why should one, at all, describe one's coming to sweet milk as if one had come to a water-stream.

To sum up, it seems that V-Mādhava did hit upon or, may be, inherit the tradition of the right meaning of the word क्षो॒दस् here, but, the mislection एषे॒ stood in his way in arriving at the proper pictures of the poet's mind in likening Aśvins to a dam (क्षो॒दस्). Of the two renderings offered above, the latter is definitely simpler, because it involves only a minor textual emendation. One factor that, additionally, favours the first rendering, however, is that by accepting the emendation suggested therein, the pāda a, apparently, regains its normal measure. But it may be difficult, at this stage, to reject, offhand, the view that, as found in a very large number of cases, this type of metrical extension was also a fairly regular prosodial phenomenon and had no text-critical bearing.

IV

RV. I, 180, 9 reads :

प्र॒ य॒द् व॒हेथे महि॒ना र॒थस्य प्र॒ स्पन्द्रा याथो म॒नुषो न॒ हो॒ता ।
धत्तं॒ सूरि॒भ्य उत॒ वा स्व॒श्व्यं ना॒सत्या रयिषा॒चः स्याम ॥

I render it as follows :

(Aśvins) when, forward, ye advance by driving (your) car, (then), forth you go, speedy ones, like the man (who is a) Priest (speeding to his office); (wherefore, we pray that) do put into action for (us), the singers, that mastery of swift reaching (that is) yours, (so that), Nāsatyas, (we) may become possed of prosperity (through your favour).

According this rendering, √वह् which is used in the verb प्र॒√व॒हेथेis an intransitive root in the sense of 'going' or 'moving' and, as such, is to be distinguished from the Paninian root √वह् (I, 1029) which is transitive and means 'carrying,' 'drawing,' 'dragging, 'or' driving (प्रा॒पण–).

महि॒ना is taken here as= *महि॒नया i. e. the instrumental singular of *महि॒ना which is a phonetic transformation of वहिन्धा॒, being a composite action-noun (i. e. √वह्>*वहि+>धा–ध) in the sense of 'driving'.

In consideration of what Shri Satavalekar (RV., ed., Oundh, 1940, intro. pp. 5-7) and, after him, Shri Kashikar (RV. with Sāyaṇa, ed., Poona, Vol. III, 1941, पाठभेद p. 2) have said on the subject, स्पन्द्रा is adopted here as just a tentative reading in place of स्यन्द्रा as had been read by Maxmuller. MM. Ojha (Bhāratīya Prācīna Lipimālā, 1975 B., Plate, 19) has copied out the full Devanāgarī alphabet given at the end of a palm-leaf manuscript of the work, Uṣnīṣavijayadhāraṇi. This manuscript, according to him, belongs to the 5th or 6th century A.D. and was found from the ancient Horyuji monastary in Japan. As the letters प and य are quite distinct in the earlier records, as found so far, but have become liable to mutual confusion in the said 5th or 6th century record as well as in the later ones, it can safely be said that, at least, since the 5th century, there has always existed a scope in the Devanāgarī manuscripts of प and य being mutually mis-read and mis-copied. Now, during the past 1,500 years hundreds of generations of Vedapāṭhins have worked on the Devanāgarī manuscripts of RV., reading from them when learning the text by heart as well as when preparing fresh copies of them or transcribing them into Grantham and other scripts. So while even the uniform evidence of Vedapāṭhins in favour of स्पन्द्रा, by the very nature of the case, cannot be conclusive, the position of the similar evidence of the Grantham manuscripts too, may have to be further investigated to see if any of them could claim an independent tradition going back to, at least, the 4th century A.D. Further, exegetically, it is clear that the epithet as applied to Aśvins in the present context refers to their exceedingly swift movement ; therefore, the question is which of the two roots, √स्पन्द् (Dhātupāṭha I, 14) 'to throb' or 'to quiver' (किंचिच्चलन) or √स्यन्द् (Dhātupāṭha I, 762) 'to flow swiftly' (प्रस्रवण–) would better express this sense. May be, neither of the Pāṇinian meanings suits our context and we have to supplement Dhātupāṭha by attributing the appropriate meaning to one of these roots. If it come to this, only a thorough-going study of the Vedic and, also, later usage in respect of both these roots can help us make the choice. Evidently, till the foregoing points have been fully attended to, the question should remain an open one.

प्र√या in प्र॒+याथ: is taken here as, practically, synonymous with प्र√वह् in प्र+व॒हेथ; that is to say, both refer to Aśvins' swift movement. V-Mādhava has mis-construed प्र√वह् by confusing it with the aforesaid Pāṇinian √वह् and changing the transitive meaning प्रापण i. e. 'carrying' or 'driving' of the latter to the intransitive meaning प्राप्ति i. e. 'coming' or 'arrvinging' (आगमन). Sāyaṇa who took √वह् in the usual Pāṇinian sense, still lined up with V-Mādhava by bringing in, elliptically, the verb आगच्छथ: to counter प्र+याथ:. V-Mādhava and, we might say, Sāyaṇa, too, seem to have been led astray into this bungling by their misconstruction of the simile म॒नुषो न॒ हो॒ता. They thought that as the *Upamāna*, namely, *Hotā* referred to Agni whose function consisted of coming from Gods to men and going from men to Gods, the bi-fold action of coming and going must naturally be what is common (सामान्य), as intended here, between Aśvins and Agni. Oldengberg (RN.) and Geldner (RV.) have followed them only in the matter of making Agni the *Upamāna* and taking म॒नुष: as an oblique form, either genitive, after them, or, as ablative or even accusative. While it is conceded that Agni is described as *Hotā* at a number of places in RV., including I, 144, 1 and VI, 12, 5 as cited by Oldenberg (RN.) and Geldner (RV.), respectively, it seems that म॒नुष: here has its exact parallel only in मनुष्यं: in मनुष्यो न॒ हो॒ता (RV. I, 59, 4) and, that it is an epithet of हो॒ता, purposely used to distinguish the human *Hotā* from the divine one, namely, Agni. The comparison, when feasible, between a human being and a divine being or beings, as in our case, becomes the more pointed owing to the very distinction of status that, otherwise, lies between the two. A reference, in another context, could be made here to RV. X, 98, 8 where the singer, Devāpi seeks to add, similarly, to the effect of his invocation to Agni by emphasizing his humble human role (मनुष्यं:). V-Subiah (VS.) has rightly construed our context in his article on *admasád* (p. 220).

The second half-verse offers for solution a fairly tough text-critical problem. That the bards pray in the Pāda d for prosperity is clear ; but what they have said in the Pāda c has remained obscure. V-Mādhava understood the transitive √धाin the imperative form धत्त॒म् in the sense of 'giving' or 'granting'. His rendering," दत्तं स्तोतृभ्यः अपिच शोभनाश्वसख्यम् does not clearly bring out the force of अपिच='and, also' ; for, the first half-verse being only a statement about Aśvins and not a prayer in any way, the words अपि च used to explain the text उत॒ वा seem to be entirely out of place. Sāyaṇa, instead of taking उत॒ वा in the above copulative sense, seems to have taken it as a disjunctive particle. But, whether for union or for separation, it is evident that, first, there must be two distinct entities that have to suffer either of these two treatments. So, Sāyaṇa split up the Pāda c into two sentences, of curse, elliptically. The sentences are :

१. धत्तं सूरिभ्यः (फलम्);
२. उत वा (धत्तं सूरिभ्यः) स्वश्व्यम् शोभनाश्वसमूहम् ।

But it hardly improves the situation ; for, शोभनाश्वसमूह, being itself a फल–is not distinguishable from the latter. Moreover, after this kind of construction of the Pāda c, the Pāda d with a fresh, unnecessary though, prayer for prosperity (रयि) becomes redundant. Griffith, seemingly, attempted to mend matters by reading the Pādas a, b and c as a series of three subordinate sentences, all governed, alike, by the relative adverbial pronoun यद् and mutually connected by the copulative conjunction उत॒ वा, and by taking सूरि॒ in the sense of यजमान instead of स्तोतृ as done by V-Mādhava and Sāyaṇa. But this construction, apparently, coherent as it looks, could not stand. For, the absence of accent in the verb प्र॒+याथः shows that the Pada b is a principal clause and is not governed by यद् in the Pada a. And, the use of the modal verb धत्त॒म् against that of the temporal ones, प्र॒+व॒हेथे and प्र॒+याथ : makes the Pāda c a sentence, that is not grammatically dependent, in any way, on the Pādas a and b. Geldner (RV.) follows the construction of V-Mādhava and Sāyaṇa but understands घत्त॒म् and सूरि॒भ्य : as Griffith did and उत॒ वा as Sayana did. So, naturally, what has been said above regarding all of them should apply to him as well.

Our rendering as given above seeks to construe the prayer contained in the Pāda c as an instrument which, in view of what is stated in the Pādas a and b, should be readily available for the materialisation of objective prayer as given in the Pada d. The beneficiaries of both the prayer instrumental as well as objective, are identical and referred to by the words सूरिभ्य : in the Pāda c and रयिषा॒च : in the Pāda d. The verb स्याम in the Pāda d shows that that they are no other than the singers (स्तोतार :) themselves. Confident as they are of the favourable attitude of Aśvins towards them, they feel that once those Horsemen turned the faces of their horses towards them, they would get all they wanted as a matter of course.

√धा in धत्त॒म् here means 'to do', 'to actuate' or 'to put into action'. This meaning is not clearly enunciated in Dhātupāṭha, but can be either related to the meaning, 'to foster' or 'to incresase' (पोषण) as given there (III, 10) or, supplementally, added to it. In this sense, becomes related to√धृ as found in the word ध॒र्म॑न् (as, for instance, read in RV. I, 164, 50 (ता॒नि ध॒र्माणि प्रथमान्यासन्) where Sāyaṇa renders ध॒र्माणि by कर्माणि. This connotation of the word action-noun धर्म (=धर्मन्) which makes it an object of enjoinment (चोदना-लक्षण) is well known in Karmakāṇḍa.

The steeds of Aśvins speed in all directions. Therefore, the bards emphasise the urgency of their bending their feet towards them. This emphasis is expressed by particle उ which has since long been wrongly read here as the first letter of the word उत and stands in need of being restored to its own real individuality.

From a textual comparison of

(1) उत॒ त्य॒दाश्व॒श्व्यम् (RV. V, 6,10)

(2) आ॒ नः···दर्षि···उत॒ त्य॒दाश्व॒श्व्यं य॒द् (RV. VIII, 6, 23-24) and,

(3) अ॒सद॒त्र···उत॒ त्यदाश्व॒श्व्यम् (RV. VIII, 31, 18)

with our text, it seems that the Pāda c here, originally, might have read :

धत्त॒ सूरि॒भ्य उ त॒द् वाम् आश्व॒श्व्यम् ।

RV. VIII, 10, 2 speaks of Asvins as आशु–हे॒षस्, probably, in reference to the high speed of their horses ; and RV. I, 117, 9, expressly refers to the horse (अ॒श्व–) that they gave to Pedu as speedy (आशु–). Though RV. VII, 68, 1 and 69, 3 speak of Aśvins as स्व॒श्व–, it seems, that in both the cases, *आश्व॒श्व (=आशु–अ॒श्व–being an accentual variant of, but synonymous with आश्वश्व (=आशु॒–अश्व) as read in RV. V, 58, 1), would probably suit better, metrically as well as exegetically.

Similar is the case with reading स्व॒श्व in reference to Indra in RV. I, 84, 6. Everywhere, in these cases, speed and not plenty or goodness in general being the point that is intended to be emphasised, it seems pretty certain that the first component सु in स्व॒श्व here and, possibly, in a few more places, too is identical with शु॒ in the sense of swift (क्षिप्र) which as such is read in Nighaṇṭu (II, 15) and explained in Nirukta (IX, 26). It is read, also, in the Pāṇinian *Svarādi* Gaṇa (I, 1, 37). Linguistically, a shorter form of आशु॒ itself (Compare Nirukta IX, 26 for this equation, too), it seems to have become mixed up, in course of time, with the other more common सु in the sense of 'good (साधु or श्रेष्ठ) or 'plentiful' (बहु–) (as e. g. in RV. I, 40, 2; 93, 2; 162, 22 ; II, 1,5; III, 26, 3; VIII, 12, 33; IX, 65, 17 ; X, 113, 10).

Arnold (VM. p. 297) thought that, originally, स्व॒श्व्यम् here might have been read सुअ॒श्वियम्, thus making an extended Triṣṭubh Pāda (like v. 4a discussed above). Why Oldenberg (RN.) doubted the validity of this proposition is not known ; but to us it is not acceptable on the ground of accent. For, in that case, the original polysyllabic structure of the word should have caused the development of a Svarita (i. e. सुअश्व्य॑म्) at the end under the Pāṇinian general rule तित् स्वरितम् (VI, 1, 185) which is seen operating, likewise, in a large number of other words of the intended type e.g. आतप्यं॑–(VS.), आयुष्यं॑ (VS., AV.), आसन्यं॑ (ŚB), छन्दस्यं॑ (RV.), मनुष्यं॑–(RV.).

V

The first two stanzas of AV. XII, 1 read as follows :

सत्य॒ं बृह॒द् ऋत॒मुग्र॒ं दीक्षा॒ त॒पो ब्र॒ह्म यज्ञ॒ः पृथिवी॒ं धारयन्ति ।
सा॒ नो भूत॒स्य भ॒व्यस्य प॒त्न्युरु॒ं लोक॒ं पृथिवी॒ नः करोतु ॥ १ ॥
असंबाध॒ं बध्यत॒ो मानवा॒नां य॒स्या उद्व॒तः प्रव॒तः सम॒ं बहु॒ ।
ना॒नावीर्या ओ॒षधीर्या॒ बिभर्ति पृथिवी॒ नः प्रथतां रा॒ध्यतां नः ॥ २ ॥

Both these stanzas are read, with minor variation, in AVP. XVII, 1, 1-2 and MS. IV, 14, 11. As noted by Whitney, the Pāda a in the second stanza, which is identical in AV. and AVP., does not syntactically fit in with the remaining three Padas there. MS. here reads : असंबाध॒ं मध्यत॒ो मानवे॒भ्यः, which definitaly improves the situation, making the stanza syntactically squared up. That the original reading मध्यत॒ो has been phonetically corrupted into बध्यत॒ो in both recensions of AV. may be easily accepted; that by itself will not be enough to credit MS. with the preservation of the entire Pāda as such in its original form. For, in the first place, it makes a bad Jagatī Pāda in place of a normal Triṣṭup Pāda as needed and as preserved by the AV. tradition. Secondly, it gives incongruous sense by saying that the Earth with its extensive uplands, slopes and plains can accommodate humankind only in its middle portion. Thirdly, of all the YV. texts, MS. alone, and that, too, only in its later terminal portion, reads these two stanzas along with four more out of a total of 63 that both recensions of AV. have preserved. Therefore, it is probable that MS. adopted for its liturgical purposes these stanzas from AV. and tried to improve the text where it seemed to be obscure. Thus, it seems, MS. in order to show that the words भूत॒स्य and भ॒व्यस्य in the Pada c of the first stanza referred to the past and the present, replaced the word भ॒व्यस्य by the word भ॒वनस्य, obviously, to make it clear that the word भ॒व्यस्य should be taken here in the sense of the present and not-in its other sense, namely, the future. It is a pity that, not heeding this warning, for, so it was, Whitney rendered the word भूतस्य and भव्यस्य as what is and what is to be (i.e. the present and the future). All the same, as indicate dabove, Whitney was right in sensing the inconsistency of the Pāda b of the second stanza and wanted to treat it as an adjunct to the first stanza. He was, however, not sure how the desired adjunction could be effected and, obviously, for the reason that he overlooked the negative adjectival accent of the word असंबाधम् and rendered it as a negative abstract noun (i.e. "unoppressedness"). Otherwise, he might have made a good use of his own right rendering of the word as an adjective (i.e. "unoppressive") in XVIII, 2, 20 and, also, of the striking textual parallelism that is found here (i.e. असंबाधे पृथिव्या उरौ लोके).

The confusion here, it seems, has been due to an optical illusion suffered by some very ancient scribe. The manuscript that he was copying out, probably, read as under :

1 a - c : as at present
1 d : पृथिवी नः प्रथतां राध्यतां न : (= 2d at present)
2 a : यस्या उद्वतः प्रवत : समं बहु (= 2b at present)
2 b : नानावीर्या ओषधीर्या विभर्ति (= 2c at present)
2 c : असंबाधं मध्यतो मानवानाम् (= 2a at present)
2 d : उरुं लोकं पृथिवी न : कृणोतु (= 1d at present)

The word मानवानाम् further, seems to have become phonetically corrupted into (*मानवाआव्>) 1. *मानवाउ which, probably, was emended in AVP. into मानवेषु and 2. मानवो which might have been emended in MS. into मानवेभ्यों.

VI

We owe the following Gāyatrī to the Poet, Madhucchandas, a descendant of Viśvāmitra :—

असृग्रमिन्द्र ते गिरः प्रति त्वामुदहासत ।
अजोषा वृषभं पतिम् ॥

R.V. I, 9, 4 ; A.V. XX, 71, 10

SV., also, has this verse (Kan. I, 205 ; Jai. I, 22 2), reading सजोषा : for अजोषा : in Pāda *c*.

I render it as follows :—

To thee, O Indra, hymns have been sent out; (and,) full of fervour, up have (they) gone, aiming at thee, the manly lord.

अजोषा : in Pāda *c* has lent itself to widely different interpretations. Thus, Skanda, V-Mādhava and Sāyaṇa regard it as the aorist 2d person singular of √जुष्. Skanda who was older than both the other scholiasts and, therefore, responsible for this interpretation, indeed, if he himself did not take it from some other older authority that is not yet known, might have arrived at it after having rejected the alternative of the word being a negative adjectival compound, *अजोषस् which in its nominative singular form, अजोषा: would refer to Indra who, however, could not appropriately be described as "not satisfied", specially, in view of the lavish praises that had been offered to him. So, he might have argued, the word must be the said verbal form which, alone, could give the wanted positive sense. Sāyaṇa was so much impressed by this ingeneous interpretation that he applied it to the SV. variant सजोषा : also, particularly, it seems, because Mādhava, the author of Vivaraṇa had already done so before him. Evidently, he missed a hint in the right direction from Bharatasvāmin who had treated सजोषा : as the nominative plural of the adjectival compound स–जो (ष>) षा qualifying गिर : । Although not indicated by Bharatasvāmin, this case of a Bahuvrīhi compound with the second initially accented component retaining its original accent would be supplementally governed by the Pāṇinian rule, अद्युदात्तं द्व्यच् छन्दसि' (VI, 2, 119). Modern writers, except Dayānanda and Bhavavibhūti Bhaṭṭāchārya, who follow Sāyaṇa, agree with Bharatasvāmin in respect of सजोषा: in SV. and take अजोषा: of RV. as a negative compound, rejecting its traditional verbal construction. In doing so, they have practically revived the problem that Skanda had tried, long ago, to solve in his own way. Thus Bōhtlingh-Rōth (W), Grassmann (W.), Griffith, Geldner (RV.) and Velankar (HI.) take it as a negative Bahuvrihi compound with the action-noun जोष, in the sense of 'satisfaction', 'satiety,' 'acceptance' or 'combination,' as its second member. But, in doing so, they have evidently overlooked the accentual hurdle in their way. For, as indicated by Pāṇini (VI, 2, 172), a negative Bahuvrīhi compound becomes oxytone. They could overcome this obstacle only on assuming the oxytone agent-noun, *जोष, which is not used elsewhere in Veda, as the second member. The adverbial construction advanced by Velankar (HI.), also, would require the neuter accusative singular *अजोषम् instead of अजोषा: (compare, adv. सजोषम् in RV. VI, 2, 3). Oldenberg (RV.) wants to tide over the accentual difficulty by taking the word as a negative Tatpuruṣa compound, retaining the action-noun as the second member, and making the compound in the sense of 'discontents', an additional subject of the verb उदहासत. But it is no more than a quibble; for, the 'discontents' would be a property of the Poet's heart which had outpoured itself in the form of hymns. Therefore, the said 'discontents' could be described only as a qualifying adjunct of the hymns (गिर :), and could not exist spart from the latter, not to say anything of their going, separately, to Indra, or, of the unjustifiable ellipsis involved in this laboured construction. In general, it is to be stated in reference to the negative construction that, along with its failure to explain grammar and accent, it ignores the basic facts of the context, namely, that in the first three verses, Indra has been invited and offerings of Soma accompanied by hymns (स्तोमा:) have been made, presumably to his satisfaction, and that, therefore, after alluding, in the present fourth verse, to this aforesaid consummation by using both the verbs in the aorist i.e. present perfect tense, Indra is then urged, in the fifth verse, to shower, in his turn, his choicest favours on the devotees who have worshipped him. For, it is clear that in the circumstances of the case, as just stated, the worship must have been offered through hymns that outpoured जोष–, that is, fervour born of deep devotion. In other words, the hymns (गिर:) were full of जोष and not, at all, devoid of it. And, RV. does actually read सजोष in I, 153, 1 to indicate a smillar emotional situation :

यजामहे वां मह्व: सजोषा हव्येभिर्मित्रावरुणा नमोभि : ।

that is : Full of fervour, O Mitra and Varuṇa, we worship you, profusely, with oblations and hymns.

Thus, this exegetical process, evidently, leads us to the significative equation of अ–जोष–of RV. with स–जोष not only of SV., but, also, of RV. itself. So, it seems but due to Vedic exegesis that the first component in अ जोष–be divested of its supposed negative bearing and be understood in its real positive sense of possession or fullness to be derived from recognition of its identification with the particle आ. Recovery of this forgotten identity of अ removes, as if with one stroke, the hitherto insurmountable difficulty of accent which now the proposed Bahuvrihī, compound becomes quite regular.

A reference could here be made, with advantage, to a few other cases also where the same or a closely resembling phonetic variational phenomenon is noticeable :—

(a) R.V. X, 90, 4 d reads साशना(=न–अ) नशने अभि. This appears in S.V· III, 4, 4 d and SVJ II, 3, 7 d as अशना (=न–अ) नशने अभि and in A.V. XIX, 6, 2 d and AVP IX, 5, 2 d as अशना (=न–अ) नशने अनु. Here, साशनानशने of RV. is a Dvandva Compound with *सा (=स–अ) शन–and *अन (=न्–अ) शन– as its two members Similarly, the variant अशनानशने of the other four texts is a Dvandva Compound with *अशन and *अनशन as its two members. Apparently, *अन (न्–अ) शन–, which is a negative Bahuvrihi Compound with the action-noun अशन–, in the sense of 'eating', as its second member, holds the key to the understanding of *सा(=अ–अ) शन which is a corresponding positive Bahuvrihi Compound with सह्>स॒ as its first member in place of न॒>अ॒न् of its negative opposite. For, to square up the correlation, *अशन–, which is the first member of the Dvandva Compound अशनानशने and corresponds to *सा॒शन must be differentiated from the aforesaid action-noun अ॒शन and be taken as a positive Bahuvrīhi Compound with *अ॒ (=आ॒,, as in the case of अ॒–जोषाः) as its first member and the action-noun अ॒शन–as its second member (as in the case of *सा॒शन– as well as *अनशनु॒–). In other words, अ in the beginning of the second (i.e. composite) *अ॒शन–=(*आ>)*अ॒+अ°, the assimilative Sandhi being supplementally covered by the Pāṇinian Vārtika (VI, 1, 94 : शकन्ध्वादिषु पररूपं वाच्यम्),

(b) T.S. II, 3, 1, 2 reads :

प्रजा॒ एवा॒स्मै॑ सु॒मनसः करोति ।

K.S. XI, 3 reads in the same context :

आ॒मनस एवैनान् करोति ।

The clear equation here between सु॒मनसः and आ॒मनसः, both of which are positive Bahuvrīhi Compounds and have the same meaning, namely, 'attentive,' certainly, points to the way to equating the synonymous phonetic variational doublets सजो॒ष–=अ॒जोष– and *सा॒शन=अ॒शन– by postulating the intermediate stage of *आ॒जोष and *आ॒शन–. This can now be put as follows: —

(1) स–जो॒ष–=आ॒–जोष–>अ–ओष–, and

(2) *सा॒(सु॒–अ) शन–=*आ॒(=आ॒–अ॒) शन–>अ॒ (=*अ॒–अ) शन–

(c) Similarly, RV. X, 17, 5 reads in reference to Pūṣan: स्वस्तिदा॒ आ॒घृणिः सु॒र्ववीरः: TB. II, 4, 1, 6 and TA. VI, 1, 1 read अ॒घृणिः and TA. IV, 16, 1 reads अङ्घृणिः here for आघृणिः of RV.

In all cases of this type, the positive अ॒– has no independent etymological or semasiological status; on the other hand, it has remained, where it is, only as another phonetically low-grade fossilised form of आ॒.

While the positive आ॒ seems to have suffered this process of phonetic low-gradation on a comparatively limited scale, the behaviour of the negative *आ॒, on the other hand, must have been quite the reverse so much so that now it has become difficult even to imagine that the negative अ॒ or अ॒न् could also have the phonetically up-grade form *आ॒. But आ॒देवम् (PP. अ॒देवम्) and सा॒देवः (PP. अ॒देवः) read in R.V. II, 22, 4 and VIII, 59, 2, respectively, and, also, the variants like (1) आदायु॒– (MS.) and अदायु॒– (TS.) with अदयु॒– (RV. VS., VSK., KS., KPS., SV.), (2)ग्रायव–(TS.) and ग्रयव– (VS., VSK., MS., KS.), (3) ग्रायवन्(MS.) and ग्रयवन् (SB.) and (4) ग्रायवस्(MS.) and ग्रयवस् (VS.,VSK.) do reveal that situation and might afford an additional support to the validity of the phonetic explanation as offered above in reference to the positive ग्रा.

To sum up, the ancient Acharyas had probably sensed the incongruity in taking ग्रजोषा: as a negative compound and, therefore, took pains, unsuccessfully though, to explain this word as a verbal form. On the other hand, the modern scholars, who have tried to solve this problem, have insisted that the word is a negative compound, but have hardly been able to explain it consistently with the contextual, gramatical and accentual bearings of the case. Ludwig, alone, be it said to his credit, saw that the context was repugnant to the suggested negative compound; but, at that date, not being in a position to explain the word otherwise, he remained content only with the remark, which was, probably, intuitive that the RV. reading here had become corrupt and the SV. reading was the older and correct one. If the equation postulated above be valid, the problem still left to be tackled is to determine, if possible, the etymological or, may be, the phonetic basis of the equation between the phonetically and accentually distinct सजोष–series and ग्रजोष–series of words and, also, to locate the two on the etymo-chronological chart of Indo-Iryan and, may be, Indo-European. Familiar as we are with the general tendency of Indo-Aryan, as evident so commonly in MIA. and NIA., to make the phonetic change स>ह>ग्र, the two equations, it seems to me, might be arrived at as follows :—

(1) *सहु–जोप (RV., normal Bahuvrīhi accent) *स ग्रजोष–>*साजोष–> *हाजोष– >*ग्राजोष–>ग्रजोष–,

(2) *सह–जोष–(SV., abnormal Bahuvrīhi accent)>सग्रजोष–>*सजोष–7सजोष

And, thus, we might reach the penultimate text-critical stage where it will be necessary to decide which of the two readings, and at which stage of phonetic or accentual development of it, might have been read in the Proto-text, if any. Metrically, neither of the two ultimate postulates, namely, (1) *सहु–जोप and (2) *सह–जोष being wanted by the Anuṣṭubh measure of the text, the tertiary postulate *साजोष, in the first series, should have to be selected on the strength of its normal Bahuvrīhi accent. Naturally, then, the present SV. reading सजोष–, the preservation by it of the initial original sound स notwithstanding, should have to be put posterior to the present RV. reading ग्रजोष which has lost the sibilant element स् of the initial sound स्. But in a matter like this, the stage of making final decisions is yet far off, for, we can at best look forward to the future generations of workers in this field to find out the principles of the science of etymochronology and then proceed to determine the relative ages of synonymous and other variously inter-related vocables.

VII

What follows is the first pratigraha-Mantra as read in VS. VII, 47 :

अग्न॒ये त्वा म॒ह्यं व॒रुणो ददातु सो॒ ऽ मृतत्व॒मशीया॒युर्दा॒त्र एधिम॒यो म॒ह्यं प्रतिग्रहीत्रे॒

VSK. IX, 13 differs only in reading अश्यात् in place of अशीय. ŚS., VII, 18, 1, liturgically representing RV., differs only reading प्रतिगृह्णते in place of प्रतिग्रहीत्रे.

PB. I, 8, 5, representing the liturgical tradition of SV., differs in reading ते॒न in place of सो॒ and व॒यो दा॒त्रे in place of आ॒यु॒र्दा॒त्रे.

MS. I, 9,4 reads म॒यो दात्रे in place of आ॒यु॒र्दात्रे.

TA. III, 10, 4, and TB. II, 2, 5, 2 have ते॒न, अश्याम् and व॒यो in place of सो॒ अशीय and आ॒यु :, respectively. KS. XI, 9 and KPS. VIII, 12 have व॒यो in place of आ॒यु॒ :

In assessing the text-critical value of the above-mentioned variants, it is necessary to note that the priest is described here as receiving the gift of gold, indirectly, by superimposing Agni on himself. It is by virtue of this divine cover that the acceptance of a gift does not do him any harm for, according to the prevalent feeling against receiving a gift from anybody, he might have come to grief. Considered in the light of this most important circumtance of the case, the VSK. reading अश्यात् against the variants अशीय and अश्याम्, naturally, gets off the field, because it is contextually unsuitable. If सो be taken as nominative singular of त॒द्, it can be construed either with व॒रुण: functioning as the sacrificer, or with अ॒हम् in reference to the speaker i.e. the priest himself. As indicated above, the divine superimposition aims at making the priest safe and has no reference here to the sacrificer. Therefore, it is the priest and not the sacrificer who wants that he should become, obviously, through this superimposition, free from all danger to his person.

And, this leads us again to the consideration of the reading सो॒ itself. True that it construes well by being equated with सोऽ॒हम्, but it certainly construes still better if it could be equated with the English adverbial conjunction 'so' in the sense of 'thus', 'therefore', indicating that because the said preconditional superimposition had been effected in relation to the speaker, therefore, he wished that he be granted immunity from injury. This view is supported by the actual use of the instrumental ते॒न in this very sense in the aforesaid KS., PB., TB., TA. and APS (XIV, 11, 2.). So, after all, सो॒ of our present texts may not be the pronominal nominative form as supposed by Uvaṭa and Mahīdhara and as implied by Bloomfield and Edgerton (VV. 39). On the other hand, it might be a phonetic corruption of the ancient adverb *सु॒त : (through *सु॒तो

>*सु॒ओ), formed from the pronominal base *स॒द् and, thus being equivalent to त॒त : formed from the parallel pronominal base त॒द्–. It seems, this basic rationalisation will also explain the available pronominal case-forms, स॒ : स॒स्मै स॒स्मिन् better than, as at present, by supposing that the initial त of त॒द् in these forms has been changed into स.

Under this view, if in ए॒कं स॒द् वि॒प्रा बहु॒धा वदन्ति··· of RV. I, 164, 46 ए॒कम् refers to Agni and be an accusative and not a nominative form as, previously, suggested by me in my Vaidika Tatsadi Kā Vāda, 1929, pp. 12ff.), then the word स॒द् there, also, would construe better as the neuter accusative singular of the said pronominal base *स॒द्–, used adverbially exactly like सो॒ in the texts under discussion above, than as the neuter nominative or accusative singular of the present participle base स॒त् from√अस् 'to be', as, hitherto, understood.

Metrically, also, the above suggestion improves the situation. Thus, the Mantra is easily divisible into three units, namely, the first one consisting of 12 syllables and ending with ददातु, the second one consisting of 8 syllables and ending with अशीय and the last one consisting of 16 syllables sub-divided into two units, which, presumably, might have consisted, originally, of 8 syllables each. Now, it will be seen that the second unit which, at present, is defective in the aforesaid texts, which read सो, by one syllable, becomes perfect if सो॒ be permitted to be read as *सु॒तो or, even, as *सु॒ओ. It is, however, to be pointed out that this unit will, also, be all right, metrically, if the syllabic value of अ of अमृतत्वम् be restored to it. Even then, what has been stated here in respect of सो॒ being treated as an adverb in the sense of त॒त : and not as the masculine nominative singular of त॒द् should still hold its own.

The third and last textual unit here is understood by Uvaṭa and Mahidhara and, also, Griffith as the Priest's prayer to the gift (i.e. gold) itself to grant long life to the benefactor (i.e. sacrificer) and comfort to the beneficiary (i.e. priest himself). This mis-construction is, apparently, based on the confusion, of the verb एधि here with एधि which is the imperative 2nd person singular of √अस्, 'to be', for, it seems that the present एधि should be taken as the subjunctive 3rd person singular of the same root, the implication being that it is a phonetic equivalent of *अस अति>असति (Compare, VS. XXXVI, 17 : सा॒ मा शा॒न्तिरेधि where Uvaṭa and Mahīdhara treat एधि as=अस्तु). That the parallel texts, namely TB., on the one hand, and MS., KS. and Kap., on the other, have here the variants, अस्तु and भूयात्, respectively, in place of एधि adds further strength to the above view. Moreover, the interposition of the sentence सो etc., of different syntactical status between the sentence ending with ददातु and the one beginning with आ॒यु : stands in the way of the latter being taken as an address to the gift (gold) referred to in the former by the word त्वा. So, this sentence contains a frayer, in general, being just an indication of what the priest wishes for his benefactor and himself.

And, what does the priest here wish for, in general, for his Yajamāna as for himself ?MS. says that it is मयस्, 'safety' for both. Now, in respect of the priest himself, all the texts agree in reading मय : here except VSK. which has वय :, obviously, a mere phonetic variant of मय :. In respect of the Yajamāna, while Ms. repeats मय :, TB., TA. KS., KPS and PB. read वय :, which, again, is a clear case of phonetic variation. Thus, all of these texts seem to have repeated, originally, the word मय : in both the places (Compare, similar repetition of शम् in relation to more than one beneficiary, generally, द्विपद्–and चतुष्पद्–in RV. VI, 74, 1; VII, 54, 1; 86, 8 ; IX, 69, 7 ; X, 85,43-44 ; 165 ; 1, 3; MS. IV, 10, 6 ; VS. XXXVI, 8 ; 22 ; TS. II, 3, 14, 5 ; AV. VI, 27, 1 etc.).

The reading अशीयायु : of VS., VSK. and SS., also, seems to have been the result of another phonetic process following the assimilation of the final म् of अश्याम्, which, as preserved by TB. and TA., appears to have been the original verb at the end of the middle sentence, to the initial म of मयो at the head of the last sentence. The process may be indicated as *अश्याम्मयो दात्रे>*अश्याममयुदात्रे>अश्या अयु दात्रे (through emendation *अश्या आयुर्दात्रे (through another emendation) अशीयाऽऽयुर्दात्रे. This finding, if accepted, should further corroborate what has been said above regarding the phonetic derivation of सो, as now read, at the head of the middle octo-syllabic sentence, which, originally, might have stood as*स (=त)तो अमृतत्वमश्याम् ।

The next and final question that now would crop up of itself is how to inter-relate, proto-textually, the two adverbial variants, namely, सो (=स*[=त]तो) and तेन at the head of the middle sentence. It can be done, I am inclined to believe, by postulating the parallel phonetical derivation of both from the original pronominal adverb *तस्मद् (being equivalent to [तद्->] तस्मात् and comparable to [अस्मद्->] तस्मद् in the ablative case) which was pronounced, dialectically or manneristically, as (1) ततवत् which was reduced into *ततोद्, ततो MIO.,[तओ>] तो (NIA) on the one hand and into [*ततअस्>]ततस्>ततः, on the other) ; (2) *सतवद् (which was reduced into *सतोद्, सतो, *सओ and सो) and (3) *तसमद् which was reduced into *तसन्द>*तयन्द>*तयन्न>*तेन्न[>तेन] and, also, तयान>*तआँ–and ताँ (in NIA). Thus, the last two sentences of the present text might have read, originally, as

* (१) तस्म (=स्मा) दमृतत्वमश्याम् ; and

* (२)मयो दात्रे अस्तअति मयो मे प्रतिग्रहीत्रे,

'मह्यं' in place of 'मे' being a later conscious Substitution.

VIII

Bloomfield and Edgerton (VV. I, 34ff.), following Delbruck (AIS. 229) and accepting the validity of the present Vedic variant readings of the type of अशीय and अश्याम्, as under discussion above, have tried to explain this interchange between the active and the middle voices in the same verb as part of the break-down of the distinction between the voices from the earliest times. Thus according to them, only in a few cases "the varying use of the voices depends, as a rule, on change of construction, or some imaginable difference of attitude towards the same passage ; but the bulk of interchanges between active and middle of the same root are in passages of identical construction, devoid of any appreciable difference ; if there is a difference in meaning between the vioces, it is certainly of the most tenuous kind, and while we would not rigorously deny such possibilities here and there, there seems no doubt that by and large they are signs of the almost complete practical erasure of this distinction towards which the language tends from the very beginning, from RV. on." In support of their view, they have also referred, to Renou's similar view of "there being no difference of meaning represented in the voice distinction" (Grammar, 121ff).

Evidently, these scholars in arriving at the above conclusion have proceeded from two assumptions, namely, (1) that the OIA., originally, possessed the distinction between the active and the middle voices but that it also started breaking down from the earliest times as represented by RV. and (2) that the variants of this type, traditionally established as they are for the different Śākhās of Veda, have to be treated as at par between or among themselves and held equally valid for their respective texts.

I am afraid I cannot subscribe to either of these views. To take the first of these first, I think that the composition of RV., even as a floating folklore, ascended the linguistic horizon when OIA. had already passed through a long career of development and that, consequently, the phrases like "from the very beginning, from RV. on", being historically invalid, can only lead to confused ideas on the subject. There is no evidence to show that OIA., originally, possessed the distinction of voices which, on the emergence, mainly through phonetic transformation, of an ever increasing number of parallel sets of verb-forms without any well-defined differentiation of meaning, seems to have developed more as a gradually recognised semantic adjustment than as an urgent grammatical necessity.

To illustrate this point, the two participles शोशुचत् and शोशुचान which, as pointed out by Renou, are found indiscriminately used in RV., are so used because they are really identical, the so-called middle शोशुचान being phonetically evolved out of *शो॒शुचन्त. So, here we may have an evidence of the parallel existence, at one time, of course, anterior to the establishment of the present text of RV., of the two parallel bases *((*शो॒शुचत->) शो॒शुचत् and *शो॒शुचन्त which were merely phonetic variants and, therefore, could not have started with any distinction of meaning. The survival of active participle bases ending in (*-न्त-)-न्त्) in the so-called *Sarvanāmasthāna* forms like भवन्-, भवन्तौ and भवन्तः from simple roots and like जाग्रन्ति, ददन्ति in the neuter gender, from re-duplicated roots (as provided for in Pāṇini VII, 1, 70 and 79) should lend further strength to this view, which, if accepted, will demand that the entire Vedic vocabulary should be studied afresh, towards its grammatical reassessment, naturally, to be followed by its proper reclassification. And, when this gigantic task is undertaken, it will be necessary, first to weed out all cases, and, they are really innumerable, where the protracted process of phonetic change has transformed the Vedic texts out of all recognition. For, the gneralisations, linguistic or historical, which have been or will be based on the present mess of psuedo-identity and psuedo-variation must, by their very nature, be extremely undependable.

As to the textual independence of different Vedic recensions, I will not join issue with those with whom this happens to be an article of faith. But for others, I humbly submit that where two or more parallel texts, as in the case of our present Pratigraha-Mantra, show mutual variations of minor type and are otherwise, almost identical in point of grammatical structure, metre and general import, it is, obviously, a case where every possible effort should be made to arrive at the nearest approach to the proto-text. In the remotest past when Vedic liturgy was still in the making, it might have struck many liturgists to formulate a series of Pratigraha-Mantra of this kind and they might have actually formulated a number of them. But it seems that the series headed by the Mantra before us in the present discussion became more popular than any of its rivals and that, therefore, it has come down to us fairly well preserved in all available liturgical texts. In those old days when every text was to be learnt by heart and transmitted by one generation to the next, the fittest alone could have held its own and been preserved to posterity. This selection must have substantially been completed before the recensional development took place in respect of each of the four Vedic textual traditions, namely, RV., YV., SV. and AV. While each of the recensions has, thus, inherited, practically the whole of the proto-text of its respective Veda, it has not been able to maintain its original purity of volume and form ; and, this for the simple reason that, humanly speaking, this feat, even though most assiduously attempted, was impossible of achievement.

In view of what has been said and shown above to illustrate how the phenomenon of phonetic change, accompanied by a number of other accentuating factors, worked what was not a whit short of a veritable havoc with the text of each recension, the recensional texts of each Veda, in the first instance, and, then, all of them, taken together, should be treated as so many ancient manuscripts, homo-recensional and allo- recensional, to be thoroughly collated and text-critically studied towards the preparation of what should really be the *First Critical Edition* of the fourfold Vedic textual tradition. The Critical Apparatus to this Edition will naturally embody, for purposes of historical documentation, all available variant readings to the accompaniment of detailed explanations leading to their rejection, emendation or sub-registration.

Gigantic as this undertaking, certainly, will be, it is necessary to invite the immediate attention of those interested in it to the following two pre-requisites of the case :—

(1) No editor of the Vedic texts can do justice to his job in the absence of intimate acquaintance with the Vedic accent. That scant attention has been paid to this vital element in our recent text-publications materially detracts from their value from the point of view of textual research. The existence, side by side, of four different systems of accentuation as followed in different texts makes their comparative study too tough even to be attempted. It seems that this has been one of the reasons why while the general, exegetical and, even, grammatical studies in our field have, with the passage of time, gained and not lost in momentum, the basic textual research has made little progress, particularly after the publication, in 1909, of Oldenberg's RV. Notes. Towards removal of this great hurdle from our path, the Vishveshvaranand Institute has devised and, also, used, with great advantage, a uniform system of accentuation for all the texts. As indicated in the Introductory Section, I have followed this system in the present address, and I commend the same to you for adoption in future text-publications in Devanagari.

(2) Coming to the second point, I have often found, with joy mixed with sadness, that what I have been working upon for a considerable time had already been worked upon, long ago, with the same or nearly the same result by some one else. It was a matter of joy to find my result corroborated by another's finding ; but of sadness because I had not been able to save my time by studying that author before taking up the particular piece of work. Our lethargy apart, it is the difficulty of becoming conversant with all the different languages in which our research materials are found that is the hurdle here. Therefore, it is desirable that we should adopt one of these languages as our *first universal medium* and render all available materials into it for being made readily accessible to every worker in this line. The Vishveshvaranand Institute has given this place of honour to Sanskrit on the ground that every scholar who wants to take up original research in Veda must be

fairly familiar with and free in the use of this language. It has however been observed that the real research contribution of the Institute as embodied in the extensive Critical Apparatus attached to every page of its Concordance volumes has failed to attract proper attention, even, of those who have found the indexical portion of the work of great service to them. Obviously, the employment of Sanskrit as medium has been responsible for this indifference on their part. Now the tragedy of the case is that those who by virtue of their comprehensive academic background and familiarity with the methods of research can take up the work in view find that they can work, with greater facility, through the medium of German, French or English than through that of Sanskrit ; and, that those who on account of their training in the traditional lore are quite free in the use of Sanskrit as a medium do not happen to be sufficiently equipped, at least, at present with the general and technical academic training which is so indispensable for our purpose. This replica of the old tale of a blind man and a lame man should now end by both making up what they lacked in so that both may be able to take up Vedic and, indeed, entire Indological research on thier own full initiative. The work before us is truly enormous but the working hands are too few. So all must be encouraged, and none neglected. Therefore, it seems advisable, for the present that of the modern languages, English may be adopted as our *second universal medium* of research and every bit of contribution to our subject that is found in any other language should be rendered into Sanskrit and English both to enable the maximum number of scholars to benefit thereby and become properly equipped for the work.

To conclude, it is high time that scholars devoted to Vedic studies recognised the importance and urgency of this great task ahead, and, that a number of Indological institutions pooled their resources towards the fulfilment of this crying need not only of Vedic scholarship but, also, of all other branches of Indology which will welcome really dependable textual data for the study of their own development in the right historical perspective. It seems advisable, therefore, that, so far as practicable, such time and money as is being, or is contemplated to be, spent on the side of Vedic translation and interpretation for their own sake, should, for the time being, be directed, on an international scale, towards carrying out to successful consummation the work of text-determination.

For, in the absence of this consummation, all other work in this field will be like playing the *Hamlet* without the Prince of Denmark. So far, by fancying our routine liturgical recitals of the Vedic texts not to be subject to the universal and inexorable *law of change*, we have taken every text at its face value and published it as such and, in doing so, unwittingly, laid the foundation of our work, I am afraid, on quicksand in place of rock. If research is to prosper on the right lines, the glamour of cheap and quick production must go. And, what is still more important, the governments and the public, whose duty it is to finance research, must become educated enough not to be carried away by this glamour. With all the force that was his, the sage Vasiṣṭha of yore did declare :

सुविज्ञानं॒ चिकितु॒षे ज॒नाय स॒च्चा॒मच्च व॒चसी पस्पृधाते॑ ।
त॒योर्य॒त्सत्यं॒ यत॒रदृ॒जीयस्त॒दि॒त् सो॒मोऽवति हु॒न्त्या॒सत् ॥

(RV. VII, 104, 12)

which means that the vindication of truth eternal is the one end that the fight between what is true and what is not must lead to. So, let the search after the highest truth be the lodestar on the path that we have chosen in order that the sight divine, that the Vājasaneyin Kānvas prayed for

त॒त्त्वं॒ पूषन् अपा॒वृणु सत्य॒धर्माय दृष्ट॒ये (VSK. XL, 15).

and got, be ours, too, to help us behold the abiding serenity of truth that lies hidden underneath the ephemeral glitter of the golden lid (पात्र). Thanks.

5. Presidential Address: Iranian Section (II)

By Dr. J. C. Tavadia Santiniketan.

Iranian Studies : their Present state and future Prospects.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Following the time-honoured custom, I will first thank you for the honour you have done me by electing me as the president of the Iranian Section of the All-India Oriental Conference on this occasion. But it is with great deal of hesitation that I have accepted this honour, for I am afraid that I may not play the part as you might have expected me to do it. The reason is that, although I am a worker in the field, and that too, not only by way of vocation but also by that of profession, I am not in sufficient touch nor, I must regretfully add, in sufficient tune with the way and manner in which Iranian studies are carried on in India in general, and in which they are represented at the All-India Oriental Conference in particular. Under such circumstances it would have been an easier and also safer course for me to decline the presidentship. But then that would have amounted to shirking my duty towards the subject I represent. Now that I have accepted the presidentship I shall try to perform this duty with your help and co-operation ; but as to what I have to say I shall say according to my own views and belief. I can only request you to excuse me if I fall short of your expectations therein, and especially if there be an unusual dose of criticism, scepticism and even pessimism. I need not assure you of my bona fides, nor that it is an unpleasant matter for me to indulge in this so-called negative and destructive thinking. I am rather constrained to do so for the sake of truth, for the cause of Iranian studies, which I have the pride and pleasure to represent and which lie so near my heart as nothing else, —even now in spite of various doubts and disappointments. Nor need I dwell upon the value and necessity of bona fide criticism. Everybody is expected to know it. Yet there is a great tendency among us not only to neglect it but also to deprecate it, nay even to gag and stiffle it. The result is that there is no control and no guidance in our doings and not-doings. At the same time, however, there is no lack of empty show and false propaganda and futile discussions, all of which to my mind, are dangerous and non-conducive to our studies. This is, however, a different matter and I may better leave it aside. Also the other is a thankless task or even worse than that ; but some one has to do it.

Restricting thus myself to questions of study and research in Iranian I may first make some general remarks about them. One need not quarrel over or criticise words and names ; but one ought to be clear about them. We call our Section 'Iranian', whereas as a matter of fact we deal only with a few aspects of that great branch of studies. I need not recount what it consists of and what it does not consist of. Even from the linguistic or, in the Continental sense of the term, philological, point of view we have to restrict ourselves to those languages that have some bearing on the Zoroastrian religion. But let us properly treat at least these few languages and literatures, namely, Avestan along with old Persian, Pahlavi or Middle Persian, and of course, also New Persian to a certain extent , which need not be considered as a complete break from Ancient or Zoroastrian Persia (See my remarks at the end p. '....). In course of this address I shall return to this point of proper treatment in detail. For the present I repeat that we need not criticise the name of our Section but should be clear about it. Let us stick to that comprehensive designation 'Iranian', and in the course of time, perhaps, we may do better justice to it. There is also a greater precedence for such nomenclature just before our eyes. I hope nobody outside this Section will object to my speaking about it and charge me for trespassing upon his field.

We call this whole body 'All-India Oriental Conference' ; but for all intents and purposes it is hardly more than 'Indological Conference'. There is nothing wrong about it, it being after all a question of habit. If one's interest and aptitude are restricted to one's own culture and country, there can be no objection to it. What is required is that we apply that interest and aptitude in a proper manner, and produce some tangible results that can bear the name of research and show real progress in knowledge. I am happy to add that I should have hesitated to make even this bare reference, had I not come across a note on some such remarks about the name at the last session of the Conference. The note runs :

"The sincere wish expressed by President Majumdar was that the Conference, called Oriental, be truly Indian ; in fact it should embrace all cultures of this vast country and never stop at any internal boundary". The emphasis on including all India subjects for discussion at the Conference is clear; but it is not clear whether anything was said about the exclusion of more or less foreign themes, or in other words, about avoiding the name 'Oriental'. Anyhow, the sections called 'History', 'Philosophy', etc. really mean 'Indian History', 'Indian Philosophy', and so forth. And the Conference is practically an Indological one. I should therefore not wonder if that sincere and modest suggestion were made. But the Rev. Father C. Van Exem, S.J., who gives this note adds a rejoinder to it :

"But some members and delegates might ask why Orientalism for All-India Oriental Conference should not extend beyond Karachi and Chittagong. Mohenjodaro and its connections with Sumerian and Akkadian cultures, the Syriac of old Christian Churches in South India, the trade with Arabia centuries before the penetration of the Muslim conquerors—South Arabic inscriptions of India are well-known points to the west ; other relations to the east. Orientalism stretches as far as Morocco to the west and beyond China to the east". (*Indo-Iranica, 3. 50.*)

Now all this sounds very well. The only question is whether it is all so easy and possible for our scholars : One cannot really tackle such high sounding problems without special knowledge ; and this special knowledge we have not. It is a different thing if we are asked not to shut our eyes altogether when such things are brought to light. To be in touch with them is more or less a necessity, a part of one's general equipment which one may acquire according to one's tastes and circumstances. But to make researches in them is an idle dream. May be I am too sceptical and too conservative ; yet it is certain that no good purpose is served by plunging into unknown waters without due care and precaution, without proper means and implements.

There are, however, other things which lie nearer to many an Indologist and one has a right to demand this attention to them. I mean the various aspects of Iranistic, as I have recently shown in a short article (*Visva-Bharati Quarterly*, 1948, p.123 ff.). Here is a field that ought to have attracted a good number of Sanskritists to apply their knowledge in the study and investigation of Avesta at least. But in spite of official recognition of this language, what is the result? Of course, compared to my student-days at Bombay there is some, or, if you like, great progress—as far as the outward show is concerned. In those days candidates for the M.A. degree in Sanskrit were recommended to read some general books on Iranian culture and religion, for instance, *Essays on the Parsis* of Martin Haug; and then they were tested in their knowledge, by making them deal with such common-place or, in fact, complicated questions as the comparison between the Indian Āditya-s and Iranian Amesha Spenta-s (actually *amṛta spanta* as it ought to be known at least now), Asura and Ahura, Soma and Haoma, and such other trivialities. To-day, to judge from the curriculum of Calcutta University, one might be quite contented as far as Avesta and Old Persian are concerned. For one finds therein such standard works as Tolman, Johnson, Meillet (but still the 1915 edition, although the second one revised by Benveniste is available since 1930-31) and Jackson. Compared to this Pahlavi is poorly represented ; evidently the authorities have no better knowledge or choice. Also the *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie* and Reichelt's *Awestisches Elementarbuch* are at least recommended.—All this forms only a part of the curriculam for the M.A. degree in Persian, Group E Philology. I am afraid the whole is only a theoretical plan, an ideal, to achieve which no practical steps seem to have been taken.

Be this as it may, some of these works are stated to be for reference only, and wisely so, because they would be very probably beyond the comprehension of all concerned. It is only a truism when I say this. The works prepared from the stand-point of linguistics or comparative philology cannot be acceptable or congenial to students of literature. But the approach of our Indian students is literary, and even what passes as linguistics for them is a very poor substitute. If I mistake not, the situation described by Prof. S.K. Chatterji has practically remained the same in spite of some notable exceptions. Here are his words, and if they are not true to-day I shall be very happy to be corrected:

"Linguistics as a modern science is still in its infancy in India, and the meagre dose of 'Comparative Philology' or 'Historical Grammar' which our college students reading advanced courses in Sanskrit or English, not supplementing it by any acquaintance with another language of equal importance, most unwillingly gulp down, is hopelessly inadequate to create an intelligent interest in the subject. Added to this initial difficulty, Indo-Aryan linguistics both of the classical and modern periods has formed the favourite haunt of mere amateurs who seek to compensate for their want of knowledge of the principles of historical grammar and of the modern science of language by professing utter contempt of it ; and the professed student of literature who knows the language but not its history shares in this contempt. To make confusion worse confounded, the spirit of scholasticism is not yet dead : we have elaborate grammars of Sanskrit masquerading as Bengali grammar, in which the genuine Bengali forms have been branded as vulgar (asādhu) beside the so-called 'polite' (sādhu) forms borrowed from Sanskrit " (*The Origin and Development of the Bengali Language*, p. XV).

I have quoted also the remarks pertaining to modern Indian languages, since the sphere of my study and interest includes at least some of them. Here too a vast field of research lies before us ; but it should be based on sound principles and programme : Collection of all available MSS., their critical estimate and faithful use for the edition of texts with linguistic and other notes and indexes. On these can then be based the history and dictionary of different languages and then comparative study of these as well as other studies—social, religious, historical, etc. For non-literary words and matters one must go to the living sources and collect them from their actual use. The new spirit and the new method are already at work. Besides Dr. Chatterji's monumental study on the Bengali language I have come across a couple of others, and still more may have appeared in the meantime. However, the tradition holds it own in various quarters, else much can be expected and achieved in this line. But I need not dwell upon this matter of modern Indian languages any further[1] and must restrict myself to the question of Iranian studies, which are prosecuted not fully and independently but only as part of "Linguistics" or Indo-Iranian Philology. Here I feel that Dr. Chatterji's remarks still hold good, and that the situation is not materially changed. Let us examine this point in detail.

For the M.A. degree in Sanskrit, Goup B, a small (one-fourth) part of the sixth paper is devoted to Avesta—"Haoma Yast, ix" (which means Yasna ix) and "Students are expected to have a working knowledge of Avestan Grammar, for which purpose Jackson's work is recommended ." A student—not to say a wise, practical student— may not take all this trouble, for he can get what he wants by devoting himself to the other, three-fourth part of the paper. Then in Comparative Philology, Indo-Aryan Branch, one paper is devoted to what is strangely called "Indo-Iranian (Aryan) Philology, with elements of Avesta and Old Persian". Here the prescribed books include Jackson's and Johnson's Grammars but Tolman's edition is replaced by Sen's. The same is the case with the full-fledged Iranian Branch where Pahlavi is again poorly represented, whereas Persian is in a strange fashion—without any texts, although for (Vedic) Sanskrit and even Arabic texts are prescribed along with grammars and the like. (s. The Calendar, Supplement for 1948, pp. 321-349). Of course, all this is meant only as plan and theory.

I shall, therefore, leave aside other details and restrict myself to Avesta and Old Persian, to provide for which is within the bounds of facility and possibility. If French and German authoritative works are beyond the horizon of our students there are also excellent English ones. But instead of Reichelt's *Avesta Reader*, which practically makes Bartholomae available in English and gives all other necessary information, Taraporewala's *Selections from Avesta* (*and Old Persian*, which latter never appeared), said to be specially prepared for Indian students, is given preference. Similarly, Sukumar Sen's edition of *Old Persian Inscriptions* is replaced for Tolman's as said above. Naturally the University wants to 'patronise' its own publications. If it was necessary to provide Indian students with greater help— "with full and exhaustive notes" as the advertisement formula runs—this could have been supplied in companion volumes to the above-mentioned standard works. Or if it was considered desirable to prepare new editions, these should have been prepared with much greater care, so that they turned out as good as if not better than the old ones. But actually the reverse has happened. This is not a wild, hasty charge just thrown out at random, but a considered opinion based on facts and figures. I also very much regret that such has been the result of my inquiry in the matter. The contrary would have pleased me and also others, since Dr. Sen, for instance, had undertaken the task of bringing all the Old Persian inscriptions in one place. This was a great desideratum, for a number of new inscriptions—some of them very important—were scattered in different places. On receiving this volume I wanted to encourage the author and appreciate his labours ; accordingly I added a few remarks on it while writing a short, general article on the subject (*Indo-Iranica* 3·43 ff.). Besides differing about the plan of the work I referred to some discrepancies. But on closer acquaintance later on I found that the work was rather poorly executed. A little more care and consideration would have improved it to a great degree. There are all sorts of mistakes ; they should not have been committed in a tutorial work of this type, which remains in use for a great many years. It is safer to follow the standard works in all cases of doubts and difficulties. Nobody would object to new suggestions, if they were made in a proper manner—and when necessary. Unnecessary innovations should be avoided. Of course, there can be errors of judgment ; yet they should not form a rule but should remain an exception.

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[1] See, however, a few remarks at the end. p. ,

As to *Avesta Selections*, the matter is worse as it is also more complicated. It is indeed a wise plan to give Sanskrit equivalents in the beginning, especially because the Avestan orthography does not show the real state of the language. Of course, one should recognise the genuine sound changes; the others should be corrected to get the proper view. For instance, it is all easy to say that *Vivayha* in Y. 9·4 is nom. sg., but one should also know how nom.sg. of *vivashvat* came to assume that form. (Or is it unnecessary to bother one's head about it ?) The two kinds of changes are neither adequately nor always distinguished in Jackson's Grammar[1], that being a matter of more recent research. This is a special affair and Taraporewala may not be expected to take it into account. But what he certainly should have taken into account is the correct explanations of Reichelt based upon Bartholomae. It is no use repeating older explanations when they are evidently wrong and antiquated. In doubtful cases they may be mentioned either for choice and comparison or even for preference. After so many years there is also room for totally new explantions, but to provide them requires other qualifications. Above all one cannot and should not depart from the recognised standard of linguistic and historical—this word includes everything !—method. Fanciful flights of imagination cannot achieve that task. Happy inspiration and acute imagination can give us many a right start, but it is only the dry light of reason that can guide us to the goal.

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[1] This Grammar was published in 1892. Later editions are mere reprints by mechanical process but this could have contained an appendix on the points raised by Bartholomae.

One may question why I am speaking at length about the University curriculum and the University text books. The answer is that these form the foundation of Iranian research in India ; and the foundation should be solid and not so full of defects. For this same reason I ought to have included in my survey the way and manner in which Iranian languages are taught in schools and madresas for University or other examinations on the Bombay side. But without entering into the vexed question of our educational system in general and that for the Parsi priesthood in particular, I will only remark that reform is long due in this particular subject. Even general training of mind and general diffusion of knowledge need not be carried on by questionable methods and questionable means. But when post-graduate studies and research come in operation, these—the methods and means—must necessarily be such as to correspond with and be conducive to the high aims. Dr. Taraporewala has put forth the following claim in his presidential address at the 7th All-India Oriental Conference, *Proceedings and Transactions* p. 849 ; "No wonder when Hindu scholars steeped in Sanskrit learning take to the study of Iranian along scientific methods, they very soon leave us Parsis far behind. This I know from personal experience of teaching Iranian languages. . . .in the University of Calcutta." To me also it would have been no wonder ; for I have been preaching the same in and out of season. But the real wonder is that nobody has learnt Avesta as it ought to have been learnt. I am also frankly told that what is actually done is just for "Indian Linguistics" and that is quite sufficient ; nothing more is needed. It is therefore no wonder if the net result is almost nil .

I will not discuss the nature and contents of the books or compilations like the *Aryan Trail in Iran and India* by N. Ghose ; there are worse things on the market. The author with law as his profession is perhaps an amateur, although the book is published by the University of Calcutta, 1937. But even the serious articles by recognised scholars betray the same defects. First of all one cannot depend upon the old, antiquated translation of the Avesta (and the Pahlavi works too) in SBE while using Iranian or Zoroastrian evidence in support of some new theory. It is worth while to dwell upon one such article. Prof. S.K. Chatterji in his enthusiasm to trace Islamic mysticism in ancient India and Iran has certainly gone astray (*Indo-Iranica 1·25f.*). He has to admit that in the Avesta the female divinities "remain distant and worshippable divinities after all ". But he must find out something that even dimly and distantly reminds him of his theme. He therefore refers to what is generally known, as the Hadoxt Nask 2 and what Darmesteter gives as the eighth section of the *Vištāsp yašt* (which contains slight changes, one being the strange apostrophe "O my son Frashaostra!") and adds: "The whole passage is a beautiful one, and is redolent with the romance that breathes in every page of Persian Sufi lyrics, and is worth quoting".

Here follows the translation from SBE 23. (It is immaterial that this translation requires correction ; for instance, the beginning of 59 should be : 'And who has loved thee. . ' followed by the reply 'Thou . .'). No doubt, the passage is beautiful but with no stretch of imagination can one see therein "the romance that breathes in every page of Persian Sufi lyrics". It is enough to remember that the beautiful—and mark, also ugly—maiden described in ideal terms, whom the dead one's *urvan* or 'choice-soul' meets and speaks to, is not any divinity but his or her own *daēnā* 'ego, conscience' or, as I have exactly defined, 'work-soul' (*Visva-Bharati Quarterly* 1948, p.129 f.). Hence there can never arise the question of Sufic union between the worshipper and the worshipped. Similarly the Gatha passage, Y.46·2 has nothing to do with the Sufi idea of God as the Bride or the Friend of the soul", as Chatterji would like to believe. A glance at the strophe in its context will convince anybody. There Zarathustra admits his lack of power and possessions and adds :

> I cry unto thee, see thou to it, O Lord,
> Granting support as friend to friend !

It is possible that Dr. Taraporewala has misled Dr. Chatterji ; for in his recent free translation he renders the phrase *fryo fryāi* "as Lover to Beloved".I shall have to speak about this work later on ; but here it is enough to note that the context, a prayer in material need for material support, excludes any notions about the Lover and the Beloved. May be the terms are used in their "spiritual" sense,—but they are misleading. Not *frya*, but *vanta*—and its cognates are the Av. words for them. Moreover, the idea of divine union in the Gathas is of different nature and is expressed by a different term, *sar-*. I may as well add that Dr. Chatterji is not justified in his conclusion (p.24)from the Bṛh. Ār. Up. IV, 3·21. If the bliss enjoyed in the union of the individual soul with the universal soul is compared with bliss in embracing a beloved, one cannot say that "the Divinity is made the Sweetheart of man's soul". A simile is not a dogma.

All this should not be considered as an isolated piece of criticism. My object is just to point out that one cannot expect to achieve anything worthwhile in this easy or rough and ready manner. Dr. Taraporewala himself has made some apt remarks about "very wrong and hazy notions of what these languages (Avesta and Pahlavi) really are" among the present generation and about the "neglect of grammar and philology" in the above mentioned presidential address p. 848 f. But I regret to say that I have to apply the same criticism and something more to his own work. I may not say anything about the "hazy notions" and even names about things lying beyond his proper subject ; but in spite of his being a Sanskritist and also acquainted with French and German his work in Avesta too is far from being what it ought to be,—far from the standard laid down by himself. This is all the more regrettable, because he is looked upon as an authority in India, where his advice and guidance are sought by all and sundry. Since he calls his translation of the Gathas "free", (which is also elegant,) he has shut the door of criticism to it. But the way in which he has changed the text, and also from his notes in the *Avesta Selections*, one can obtain some idea of his knowledge and method. And that idea, I really regret to say, is poor, compared to the advance already made. Dr. Taraporewala, however, claims for his version that "every point of grammar and construction has been examined in the fullest detail", which is also "ready for publication". Therefore the final judgment or examination of individual cases should be deferred till then.

Yet there is still something more than can be said even now, namely, about the principles on which the translation is prepared. Dr. Taraporewala's charge against Western scholars of "the double bias of being Europeans and Christians" is misleading, and so are also his remarks about one's faith or no faith (p. vi f.). If their translations are still defective, it is due to the neglect of other factors which are to be considered in interpretation of literary products. As to the principles announced by Dr. Taraporewala (p. IX f.) the first one, that "the Gathas must be understood by themselves and in the light of their own contents", is to be fully subscribed and followed. But the second one that, "the nearest to the Gathas, both in language and spirit, stands the Vedic literature of India", is only partly correct. The linguistic relation is well known, and so the words and idoims of RV. may be compared but hardly the ideas. I do not think this can be proved satisfactorily. The spirit however is certainly different,—even in Varuna hymns. Anyhow, what is false in theory and is sure to be fatal in practice is the third principle : "The Gatha versification, as also the Vedic, follows invariably the rule that 'a unit of verse is also a unity of sense'." This is one of the pet ideas of Dr. Taraporewala ; and he preaches it on every occasion, the latest being his article in Bulletin, Deccan College Research Institute VII, p. 57 ff., where he tries all sorts of shiftings. This is unnecessary. The dictum is not even "mentioned by almost every scholar" as he would like us to believe. If the unit of verse yields also the unit of sense, well and good. It is quite natural. But to make it a hard and fast rule and force it upon the Gathas is wrong. Zarathustra has not bound himself by any rule like that. Times without number the words belonging syntactically together will be found in separate verses or lines no doubt for some artistic or stylistic reason. This is one of the difficulites of the Gathas, which are also not otherwise "perfectly simple and direct in their style and diction". Taraporewala's fifth principle is also misleading, when he says "The Gathas are *spiritual* in the fullest sense of the word. Therefore, we must never bring down their Message to the material level". As a matter of fact Zarathustra appears there alive to the material evils and goods of the world which he strives to remove and advance respectively by his message. The recognition of this fact helps us to interpret the Gathas properly (see my article "Zarathustra's Path of Peace" and the forth-coming study *The First Three Gathas of Zarathustra.*).

Be this as it may ; my contention is briefly this : Any additional aid of any nature whatsoever may be brought in to explain the words of the prophet ; but the first and the last condition is that the principles of linguistic and historical methods or grammar and philology as understood by competent authorities are not set aside. The best way would be to show by one's own attempt how a new translation of the Gathas should be made. But my article 'Zur Interpretation der Gatha Zarathustras' has not yet appeared ; and my intention to supplement it with the translation of a few select Gathas could not be carried out for various reasons. However, specimens mentioned above will serve the purpose.

While speaking of the Gathas, I am expected to consider Khabardar's big volume on the Ahunavaiti Gatha. This work evokes one's admiration but at the same time also indignation—or shall I say 'righteous indignation' ? The author deserves our admiration and thanks for the pains that he has taken in the production of his work under abnormal circumstances, but he cannot be freed from the censure about the futility of such unguided efforts and for the false notions that obscure the matter further and deeper instead of clearing it up. It is certainly wrong to judge or prejudge this work from the author's former occupation, and acquirements. These need not disqualify him from undertaking a new type of work. If Khabardar claims to have studied the Veda in his youth—

although the study may be on traditional lines—and if, he now takes up Avesta with the help of Jackson's Grammar, the thing is not impossible. Of course, Bartholomae remains a sealed book to him, unless occasionally through some indirect means. Compared to his Dictionary Kanga's is no proper guide. But Khabardar mainly depends upon his comparisons with or rather transformations into Sanskrit and then appeals to Monier-Williams' Dictionary, and for grammatical purposes also to Macdonell's Vedic Grammar.

But in spite of this learned apparatus, Khabardar's work does not satisfy the needs of a serious student. Leaving aside other matters about plan, method, and the like, my main objection is to his fanciful comparisons and transformations. He disregards even elemental sound laws. And no wonder. Even the would-be scholars indulging in "Comperative Philology or Linguistics" make such poor show while embarking upon the field of Avesta, that one can forgive a layman like Khabardar. But one cannot and should not forget that his method is often a matter of fancy, a far off seeming resemblance in sounds, or absolute disregard for other factors. A few glaring illustrations will suffice. In spite of the perfectly clear etymology (the formation is equivocal but the choice is not difficult) of *dazdā* in the Ahunavar formula, the word is equated with *dakṣā* "with uprightness." I must save the reader—and of course myself also—the trouble of discussing his page-long comment giving, inter alia, the astrological proof for this innovation. Then *drigubyo* in the same formula is said to be *dhrigubhyo* and translated by "for the self-restrained". He does not say why the hitherto accepted and ascertained meaning 'for the poor (pious)' is rejected. In support of the new one he refers only to *adhrigu* "unrestrained". But actually this means 'unrestrained going' (mostly spoken of Gods, twice only of men, according to Grassmann). Such facts, however, are never weighed. Liberty with grammar too is not wanting in this short piece. *Ahurāi ā* is not dative 'unto Ahura' but ablative "from Ahura"—because of the postposition *ā*, declares Khabardar. Now if the new interpretation offered by him is based upon such apparent misinterpretations of individual words how can it be trusted ? And who has got time and leisure or will and capacity to control it at every point of departure from the usual interpretation ? One has not only to go through his long and round-about comments but check the linguistic details of which he makes such free use—and also false one. As an example of his disregard for other factors while making comparisons may be mentioned the derivation of the holy and mystic syllable *Sk.* (*om*) from Av. *Ahuna auna aun oṃ !* As if there is nothing like history or chronology of sound changes ! This derivation comes from another Parsi author.

I will say nothing about Khabardar's astrological key and such other things for the interpretation. I leave it to those who have any knowledge about the matter. But, indeed, my general remarks concerning additional aids hold good in this case also. From the purely philological point of view his work is to be used with caution and control. With this reservation—unfortunately a large one—I have no hesitation to say that Khabardar has rendered a great service to the study of the Gathas. His reproduction in Vedic Sanskrit will be of particular use. It will bring the much desired light in the chaotic orthography of the original. But unfortunately it is not free from his mistakes about common words too. Certain vagaries like the retention of *aṣa* instead of *ṛta* will be ignored by the concerned. It is also not clear why

Khabardar has done this. It is because he considers *aśa* to be the older form of *ṛta ?* I hope nobody requires me to refute this and other wild notions. (I apologise if the expression wild is non-parliamentary or too strong). Had the author cared to follow the proper guide, his grammatical analysis too would have been more useful.

Also one of the special chapters added in this work deserves careful consideration. I mean the one entitled "The Meter of the 'Ahunavaiti Gatha' and the Accents embodied in it, and Specific Differences in Phonology between Gathas and the Vedas". The last point may well be left aside. But since Khabardar is a poet and a deep student of the art of poetry—metrical systems, etc., he can guide us in this matter. We are already acquainted with some of the points, but it is a question whether he is right in others too. For instance, we know the original value of *oi* and other such dipthongs ; but Khabardar argues that they are introduced to designate different accents (p.591 § 6) ; and it is for the same purpose, he adds (593), that the surds are changed into sonants to show the acute accent (udātta), and the other way round to show the grave accent (anudātta). The author is so convinced of his view that he declares that now even the Brahmanas will learn from it the correct way of reciting the Veda ! Leaving aside such self-complimentary remarks and exaggerations, of which there are many, one must first separate the data about the accentuation from other details and see how far they can stand the test elsewhere. That would be a very useful task, but I must leave it for some other occasion, or much better to some other person.

All this, I may repeat, is not a question of individual mistakes, but that of the proper method, principle, and outlook. Mistakes occur in the works of western scholars also. Their whole theories too may be wrong. Yet there is always something to gain from them. For instance, Hertel's 'Feuerlehre' is generally denounced and rejected. This is partly due to his exaggerations and partly also to his polemical tone which often verges into impoliteness. Yet nobody would seriously deny the merit in his work. If properly used one can learn a great deal of new things. Even his exaggerations become a question of taste in the choice of expressions. Similarly, Nyberg's picture of Zarathustra and his Gathas is wholly misleading, to say the least—one may rather say, it is monstrous. I have had an occasion to speak at length as regards his interpretation of Y.30.3 in my above-mentioned article on the Gathas. And Herzfeld has dealt with his other wild theories of the ordeal and the like, which the prophet performed to establish the truth—not of his new religion (*bien entendu*), which he is wrongly credited to have preached, but the old inherited one of his tribe and forefathers ! Yet Nyberg's work too, *Die Religionen des alten Irans*, should be consulted for the individual strophes (or even the whole chapters) of the Gathas. The same can be said of Herzfeld's own work *Zoroaster and His world*, where he presents a different picture of the prophet, more or less on the usual lines but bringing him quite in the limelight of history, even in blood-relationship with the royal houses of Media and Persia. This work, published by the Princeton University Press, covers 851 pages, but contains no index. This addition would have facilitated the task of the fellow-students, who will have to consult the work for various problems of the whole of the Avesta or ancient Iran in general.

Besides these broadly laid out works we have also the special translations of the Gathas—by Lommel who, so to say, continues the work of Andreas and by Maria Wilkins Smith (*Studies in the Syntax of the Gathas . . . .*) who follows Bartholomae in main but pays due regard to other researches by accepting them on special occasions. One of her own particular contributions deserves mention: the so-called *amaśa spanta* (*amṛta spanta*) are nothing but several aspects of the one God or Lord, Ahura (or occasionally virtues of men); and when they occur in the instrumental case, they are meant as 'means' or 'instruments' through which He works. It is, I believe, not necessary to restrict the meaning to means; association can also be meant, or still better the instrumental of quality, as Markwart proposed in his study on the first chapter of the Uśtavaiti Gatha.

In spite of all these new attempts Bartholomae still remains our principal authority because of the comprehensiveness of his lexical and grammatical apparatus. Any new attempt at the translation of the Gathas should consider all these standard authorities by way of check and control, choice and preference, light and guidance—even for one's own new views or constructions. One cannot manipulate with one's whim and wish; one's fancy is to be controlled; it is not to be allowed to wander as one listeth. For instance, words are not to be twisted and tortured, nor arbitrary meanings attributed to them. Words can have different meanings and their grammatical forms also different uses and applications. To make the right choice in order to meet the exigency of the context and the general trend of thoughts, is the essence of research in the interpretation of the Gathas—as also of the other Avesta in general.

I use the attribute 'other' in preference to 'later' or 'young', because the main parts of the principal Yaśt-s and possibly some of other texts are actually older than the Gathas. Their language, as is the universal practice with secular songs and even religious hymns, may have been retouched and brought up-to-date at the time of redaction, when particularly Zoroastrian formulas were also introduced. This practice of retouching or remodelling is often hinted at in the Ṛgveda, and is also corroborated by means of numerous repetitions occurring therein. There are sufficient reasons to assume the same process of modernisation of the language in the Yaśt-s, for instance. But their matter remains still old. Even as regards their language, the minute examination of Meillet has revealed certain archaic features, which are replaced by new forms even in the Gathas. This might be taken as the proof of Zarathustra's using the actual or his own language instead of copying old models which latter is, however, the common view.

Be this as it may, what I want to affirm here is this that also for the other Avesta there is no lack of work, which is recently done in Europe and still remains to be done. But nobody here in India seems to care for the new approach taken up there by many a western scholar. Besides the already mentioned works of Hertel, Nyberg, and Herzfeld we have Widengren's *Hochgottglaube im alten Iran* and Wikander's *Vayu*, in particular. There is also Weller's *Anahita* dealing with Yt.5. I cannot undertake here any view of all these works. There are many problematic questions and divergent views and theories in them. But their high value is beyond any doubt. We may not agree partly or wholly with one or another of the authors; but all of them show that textual criticism is as essential as fruitful for the advance of knowledge in matters Iranian. Roughly speaking, the main theme is about the religious history—about several chief gods who ruled supremely at one time or place in Iran—Mithra, Vayu, and Zurvān besides Ahura Mazdāh. Wikander, who puts forward the claim of Vayu as a once supreme God, sees in the texts relating to him not only traces of religious opposition but also dialectical differences. In his more recent work, *Feuerpriester in Kleinasien und Iran*, the author continues his researches in the different currents and movements to be observed not only in the Avesta but also later writings. It is remarkable how he lays foreign sources under contribution and gains important data for the corroboration of various theses.

It is of course not so easy to form a correct and final view of all the different matters discussed in such learned works. More often than not one has to re-examine the whole question in the light of other facts and one's own investigation therein. (I hope to take up the question of the history of the Avesta—its composition, preservation, passage through vicissitudes, partial destruction, and final redaction—in the light of several other recent studies on the subject). But it would be useful to give at least some general idea of these voluminous researches in English. Then our students might get an idea of the right type of work. Not only the language, French or German, in which it appears is unknown to them, but also the subject and the treatment must appear far from easy and familiar. Herzfeld is a special case as regards both of these, yet his *Zoroaster and His World* should be taken up as a trial by anybody who wants to convince himself of what I say.

A few words more on this remarkable man who recently passed away will not be considered out of place. Herzfeld was an eminent archaeologist but his knowledge of Iranian languages, history, geography, etc. was not less profound. His command over original sources as well as over the work done on them was astounding. His contribution has the same character, both in value and volume. I may mention only his other recent publications in English : *Archaeological History of Iran* and *Iran in the Ancient East*. There is of course great deal of repetition and much that is doubtful and even wrong.

Henning, for instance, characterizes some of Herzfeld's studies in the *Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* as a result of liberal use of the possibilities of the legendary "Arsacid text" and the highly hypothetical "Avestan Metrics", large-minded treatment of grammatical niceties and philological rules, ruthless emendation, implicit trust in the value of etymology, and exaggerated application of the principle of mutual elucidation. This method, hardly paralleled in other branches of historical or philological studies, is bound to produce the most astonishing results (*BSOAS* 10,503). Indeed, this is a very severe criticism, but it at least shows that one has to be very careful in following Herzfeld's guidance in matters which lie more or less far from him. I shall have to refer to some of his Gathic interpretations in another place. Here I may add one general remark that Herzfeld is sometimes very liberal in explaining a minor point by means of words, comparisons and quotations, whereas almost obscure about things that really matter. Of course, he cannot simplify his learned contributions for general readers ; but even special students require a clearer view than he sometimes presents.

On the other hand, our students take a very superficial view of highly serious subjects. Mr. J.E. Sanjana's pamphlet, *Zoroaster and his World—a Critique*, is an illustration in the case. The whole 'critique' consists of some stray lines and passages almost without any import on one or two points; whereas the main part of the pamphlet is taken up by Hafiz's verses on mystical or divine union and their comparison with Gathic references on the same theme. It seems to have become a fashion to read ancient Iranian or Zoroastrian ideas in Hafiz. Anyhow the author could have served the purpose much better by giving a solid summary of the principal chapters from Herzfeld's book—not an easy task, no doubt, but all good and useful work is difficult.

Let me now leave this more or less nebulous region of Iranian studies, where too many ways and cross-ways bewilder an unwary traveller, and turn to some solid ground. One solid ground was supplied some fifty years ago, the *Altiranisches Woerterbuch* of Christian Bartholomae,—"an amazing work", "the indispensable instrument of all our studies", as Herzfeld describes it. But, as he justly adds : "semantics is its weakest side". I have already referred to this point, when I said above that our task lies in the choice of the suitable meaning out of those which might have been developed from the root sense. Also in the choice of the suitable grammatical form we may differ from Bartholomae and yet have to follow or use the rich mine supplied by him.

That Bartholomae's work requires revision from the linguistic or grammatical point of view also, should neither be denied nor wondered at. What I deny and wonder at is the way in which our scholars want to tackle this supreme task. It should be left to Western scholars well-versed in Iranian and Indo-European Comparative Philology—to men like Benveniste. Besides a number of smaller studies it is his *Infinitives avestiques* that has laid the foundation for the revision of Avestan grammar. This work is not merely a treatise on one of its parts, namely, the Infinitive, but a solid contribution to the exegesis of the Avesta. The same can be said of *les composes de' Avesta* undertaken under Benveniste's inspiration and guidance by Duchesne-Guillemin. The great work on the Avestan Compounds was to be followed by others on the whole nominal system. But, as I heard from Prof. Renou the author has given up the plan and turned to some other studies. This is regrettable, but let us hope that the old plan may be taken up again. (I cannot say anything about the same author's *Zoroastre*, because I have not yet seen it.)

It is not a little consolation to observe that Pahlavi studies are also flourishing in spite of great demands on the limited number of Iranists from various other branches. First and foremost occurs the name of Bailey. After a number of smaller studies on individual words and passages, he lately brought forth his Ratanbai Katrak Lectures of 1936 : *Zoroastrian Problems in the Ninth Century Books* (Oxford 1943). Bailey is as strict and exact as he is sound and erudite ; and so he is on the whole a faithful guide. As far as I remember I found him mistaken on one occasion only,—about the word generally read as *dŏkān* or *dōgān*. His emendation was unnecessary and explanation wrong. The above reading is correct and the meaning is 'detail'. The author of the *Great Bundahiśn*, after a brief account of something often says *pat dōkān gōwām* '(now) I shall speak in detail (or : with details)', or the like, and actually gives a fuller account of the same subject. I can for the present cite only one place, 86.9 *ut-šān dōkān gōwam* ' I shall speak their details'. (Years ago I had sent a note on this word to the late Prof. Arthur Christensen at his request, but he does not seem to have used it anywhere. Hence the above brief remark.)

While dealing with Avestan studies I forgot to mention Christensen's latest monograph, *Le premier chapitre du Vendidad*.... This gives a very clear and convincing solution of the geographical list and other details of that chapter. Additional remarks will be found in my review in Goettingische Gelehrte Anzeiger.... With the passing away of Prof. Christensen we have lost another great Iranist. I cannot say anything about the work of his successor K. Barr nor about that of his other pupils like Andersen.

To return to Bailey, I want to draw the attention of all the concerned to the following words from his Preface : "In taking leave of Zoroastrian studies I may confess to mingled feelings, a sense of regret at leaving so many problems still to be solved, and also a feeling of relief at leaving a subject of research where the little that is surely known allows so large a room for imagination, at times somewhat uneasily controlled". Thus he sums up and confirms what I have often touched upon during the course of this address. It is a pity that we are deprived of the full services of a man like Bailey in the field of Pahlavi studies in particular. His last gift however is a sort of very precious consolation. Its contents must be well known to you. In many respects they reveal new lines of research. On some of them, specially on the *patvand* or history of the Avesta, etc., I shall have to speak elsewhere. It should be remembered that among the texts out of which Bailey has drawn his data, the *Dēnkart* and the *Dātastān ī dēnīk* are the most difficult. I do not claim to have made any extensive study thereof; yet general acquaintance and a few particular attempts have revealed their character. The style of the *Dēnkart* is mostly such as to baffle one's attempts at construing the sentences or even phrases in a definite manner so as to leave no alternative possibilities. Carelessness in the use of *ī* and the like enhances our difficulties. The style is long winded, or, as others have called it, involved and crabbed, or, to use a learned term, synthetic. The analytic style, in conformity with the genius of the language would have helped us to grasp the meaning easily. It may be that the author could not adopt the simple, narrative style of other works. But the question is whether he followed the style of older works on similar, philosophical subjects, or he himself was the inventor of it. I am inclined to the belief that there is too much artificialness in the matter as well as in the manner of the earlier Books of the *Dēnkart*. The same can be said of the *Dātastān ī dēnīk*. Yet attempts should be made to unravel the mystery, whatever may be its value.

I am happy to see that Zaehner (of whom Bailey says : "He has already shown promise of carrying farther the work which I am now giving up") has culled a large number of extracts relating to Time (*Zamān*) from the *Dēnkart* and subjected them to a critical study in *BSOS* 9. Pahlavi being my principal line I undertook a thorough examination of this as well as all what he has done on the subject. My corrections and critical remarks may fill up as much space as his original work, which should be therefore done anew. Others repeat a whole thing while offering one or two new suggestions. But this would be a different case altogether. Nevertheless, that would not mean any depreciation of Zaehner's work. He has certainly solved various difficulties, specially about hitherto unknown words by means of etymology, parallel passages, and so forth. Moreover, his modest, matter-of-fact manner has appealed to me most sympathetically. In the absence of this study I should not have thought of taking up these extracts from the *Dēnkart* and the two chapters from *Zātspram*. Surely, everybody would have liked Zaehner's carrying on his meritorious work ; but, as I heard from Henning, he seems to have given it up. This is another distinct loss. But I am happy to add that Gershevitch, the new recruit, will take up his post in one respect or another.

The next scholar who deserves mention in this connection of Pahlavi studies is P. de Menasce. Unfortunately, I have not yet seen his translation of the *Škand gumānīk viδār*, and so I cannot say anything about it. A new study of this important, so to say philosophical work, for which we have also a guide in its Sanskrit version, is sure to be fruitful. And Menasce has given proof of his ability to undertake it. (In the, meantime I have seen this study. A careful examination has revealed that the translation could have been more exact, but as to the commentary Menasce has supplied all the helps necessary for following the author, especially the parallels from the scriptures, etc. discussed by him.) Quite recently he translated the whole passage from the *Dēnkart* Book 4, to which Bailey drew our attention, and found out the titles and brief contents of a couple of Indian works. Besides *tark* 'Logic' we now know of *avyākaran* 'Grammar', astrological *hora* (borrowed from the Greeks) and *kāla koša* (k). (See *Journal Asiatique*, 1949, p.1ff). I tried to translate the context in which these works are mentioned but in vain. The whole book is interesting but more efforts are necessary to unravel its secrets.

I believe I have tried your patience already too much and should not put it to more severe test by recounting other Iranian researches carried out by Henning, particularly in Sogdian with which Hansen too is busy at Berlin, and by Bailey in Saka, or as it is now called Khotanese. The war and its after effects have put our studies into disorder, but efforts are surely made to advance them as usual. I may not be aware of all of them. For example, I cannot say anything about German Iranists like Junker, Lentz, and others, (Schaeder, who is now at Göttingen, is expected to continue his work in our field too ;) nor about Italian Pagliaro and Messina. From a recent traveller in Russia I learnt that Freiman was alive. I have also heard of some new studies of Nyberg in Sweden, but I have not yet seen them. There remains the Norwegian Morgenstierne. I do not know whether he has added anything more to his numerous monographs and studies on Indo-Iranian Frontier Languages. These being beyond the horizon of our students may be passed over. But I must refer to his lengthy study 'Orthography and Sound-System of the Avesta' (in *Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap*, 12.30 ff. 1940). He is one of those few scholars who have expressed themselves against bringing Avestan orthography into reasonable distance from Vedic phonology. His argument is that the pronunciation represented by it is genuine as regards vowels also, because the so-called corruptions can be accounted for linguistically. But this argument is beside the point, since it does not distinguish between redaction and composition (see *Idg. Forsch*). Besides this article Morgenstierne promised another on the vocabulary of Avesta, which was to prove its eastern origin ; but I have not yet seen it ; nor anything from B. Geiger and Tedesco.

I have here purposely refrained from various other branches of Iranistic ; but since I have referred to Herzfeld's works on art and archaeology I may as well mention two important publications on the subject by Kurt Erdmann : *Das Iranische Feuer-Heiligtum*, to which I have added some data from MP. and NP. writings (see *Or. Lit. Zeitung*, 1943, 57.ff.), and *Die Sassanidische Kunst* ; and also the scattered work on Pahl. inscriptions.

For Iranian history we have the monumental work on the Sasanian period by Arthur Christensen, *Iran sous les Sassanides*, already in second edition, 1944, (I may observe in parenthesis that this work is translated not only in Persian but also in Urdu ; which means there is a taste and demand not only amongst Persian Muslims but also Indian Muslims for knowing the facts about the past of Persia. This is a happy sign ; they often translate such works in Persia ; and the efforts may well be directed to linguistic and other aspects also—in a sound and serious manner, cf. below at the end. There was a time when Parsis too were supplied with Gujarati translations or adaptations of standard works on Persian history ; but now the things are managed differently.) For the Parthian period there appeared a few years back(1938) *A Political History of Parthia*, by N.C. Debevoise. It is valuable for sources and facts, but lacking in historical spirit or philosophy. Lastly for the Achaemenian period we have quite a recent attempt, *The History of the Persian Empire*[1] by A.T. Olmstead, the well-known author of a number of monographs on the period. Besides the usual due regard to literature and art Olmstead emphasizes the factors of administration, economics, and social movements. It is claimed that he has gathered previously unknown material into the story of the Persians. How they struggled with the problems of high taxes, rising living costs, and fixed incomes, how they mingled cultures, and so forth. Some of these things are really new, and even in political history new view-points are not lacking. Particularly I am happy to find that Olmstead has exhibited the relation between the Persians and the Greeks in a right perspective. The dominant view was extremely exaggerated. I do not think Persian success would have stemmed the tide of Greek civilization, and still less that the whole Europe would have become Zorastrian through such an event. But as generally happens in a comprehensive work of this type one may not be satisfied with the treatment of one's special subject—say, religion or art. Anyhow, here too Olmstead offers new suggestions and theories side by side with some old notions which require to be revised in the light of recent studies. The fact is we are in the flux about matters Iranian—more so than in any other branch of studies. For this reason, moreover, it is not quite right when Olmstead argues that "the historian need not, in a narrative history, interrupt the continuity of his story by detailed arguments for the soundness of the views which he presents." He is right in withholding detailed arguments, but he should not withhold the opposite view altogether. For instance, when Olmstead speaks of "Usurper Darius", his reader does not even dream that the majority of scholars—and some of them as great and qualified as, if not also more so than, the author himself—hold a different opinion. So this is misleading. The full argument may have een given in the special article 'Darius and His Behistun Inscription'. But just to argue, that there is complete disagreement between our sources as to the time, place, and manner of Bardiya's murder by his brother Cambyses as proclaimed by Darius, and therefore this proclamation is a lie, is surely no argument. Moreover, Darius uses the terms 'lie' and 'liar' in wider connotation, and so really "he doth not protest too much". I wonder how the eminent enthusiasts for the Great King received this bombshell from Olmstead which appeared first in 1938.

It might be supposed that I have forgotten the efforts made by Parsi scholars in the advance of Pahlavi studies. But that I have not. I am coming to that presently. I must of course leave out the past and then also restrict myself to the essentials. One of our oldest and most silent workers is still serving the cause. I mean Mr. B.N. Dhabhar who is occupied with his edition of the Pahlavi Yasna. This will supply a great desideratum, for we possess only the almost century old edition by Spiegel from a single MS. Mr. Dhabhar is not a man to edit a text mechanically. He has certainly tried to understand it. But it may not be in his plan to give translation of obscure passages. Owing to this defect we have been deprived of his knowledge as regards the *Pahlavi Rivayat* which he edited years ago. This is one of our best books—in good style and full of interesting subjects. (Dastur Dr. Mirza worked upon it for his Ph. D. degree, but he has not yet published his translation or whatever else it is. If it is as good as his articles in the *Dinshah Irani Mem. Vol.* one may be fully satisfied.) It is a great pity that Mr. Dhabhar's preparations for a Pahlavi Dictionary are so neglected. Something should be done to utilize them for general benefit.

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[1] The book is published by the Chicago University Press; and contains maps, plates with specimens of art and architecture, index etc.—a good guide in every respect and in excellent get-up, about 600 pp. for $ 10.

Another and, to my mind, still greater scholar of Pahlavi passed away some years back. I mean the late Mr. B.T. Anklesaria, to see whom I was so anxious. It was very unfortunate that he did not publish most of his works soon after their printing was finished, but left them for years awaiting an introduction or the like. His labour and learning remained thus unused and unappreciated ; science however was the greater sufferer. And now the cruel fate has done the rest. Even the printed forms of *Zātspram*, for instance, are destroyed in fire ! I do not even know what happened to his translation of the *Great Bundahiśn*. The two prize-works, one on the *Rivāyat of Emĕt ī Aśa-vahištān*, and the other on the *Pahlavi Videvdat* (*Vendidad*) are also not yet published.[1] Is it not the duty of all the concerned that this unusual state of affairs is ended ? Instead of wasting time, money, and energy on worthless objects efforts should be directed in the publication of such really scholarly works.

There is, however, no response to such self-evident appeals. And I do not know the art of persuading or pressing the powers that be. Else in my enthusiasm and appreciation for the work of Mr. Behramgore, as he is known among us Parsis, I want so far as to include in my general suggestions the task of editing the translation and notes written, or dictated to pupils, by him. I do not mean to say that Mr. Anklesaria was infallible. There may be mistakes in his work, especially when done in haste. I myself have noted down several critical remarks to his edition of *Zand i vohuman yasn.* But such things one may add in a sympathetic, scholarly manner and spirit, and yet preserve what is good and useful—and I am sure there is a great deal of it—in what is left by the late scholar.

There is another suggestion that I should repeat here : Cataloguing of mss. in private libraries should not be neglected as in the case of Mr. J.C. Katrak's work *Oriental Treasures*, but carried out in a systematic manner. We must know what mss. exist and where. Then we must bring out a facsimile edition firstly of unpublished Pahlavi works, and later on of even published ones in special cases, from the oldest manuscripts in the library of Mr. Anklesaria and others. It was one of the unique services that his father rendered to the cause of Pahlavi studies, that he as a private individual with limited means thought of obtaining old manuscripts from Persia and preserving them. (The other service is the preparation of far more reliable than any other types for the printing of Pahlavi works). But those manuscripts should have been made accessible to all. Actually there was also a plan, and I was told that the Victoria Jubilee Pahlavi Text Fund was started for that very purpose, but somehow or other it was not carried out fully. The plan should be revived and also other old manuscripts like the *Dĕnkart* one, DM, should be published by some facsimile process. This is not a parrot-like repetition for a superfluous luxury, but a serious demand for a great necessity. It is a pity that just for the sake of a few thousand rupees and other petty matters it was decided to bring out only a printed edition of the Denkart, by Mr. D.M. Madan Whenever I see the couple of folios in facsimile given by Dastur Darab Sanjana in his edition of the work, Vol. 13, I wish to see the whole manuscript in that beautiful and unalloyed form. The editor can then have ample opportunity to show his knowledge in the notes, etc. As to the reading or transliteration of Pahlavi there should be now no doubt or hesitation in adopting the purely Iranian mode. For this we still require a certain uniformity in details ; instead of that new innovations are resorted to by almost every worker in the field.

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[1] One of these works, Pahlai Vendidad, is now edited by Prof. D.D. Kapadia and published by the K.R. Cama Or Inst. Bombay. It is hazardous to offer an opinion about It without proper study. But I may say that the learned author sometimes differs from my interpretation given here and there in my *Shāyast ne shāyast* and in *Goettingische Gelehrte Anzeiger*..........A thorough comparison etc. would be useful.

Moreover, almost all of the Pahlavi books require to be translated again. One can no longer depend upon the work—admirable indeed for the time when it was executed—of that great scholar Dr. E.W. West. I wish I could have continued the task begun with the *Shayast nĕ shāyast*. Even the translations prepared after West, for instance, by Dastur Darab Sanjana and Mr. Bulsara, require revision. Till now I have had no occasion to examine the *Mātīkān ī hāzār dātastān ;* but having had to busy myself with the *Ehrpatastān* and *Nīrangastān* in connection with the *Shāyast nĕ shāyast*, I can say that Bulsara would prove a poor guide for that book, which is also very difficult. Here I should mention—I should have done it already above—the new edition of the *Nīrangastān* by A. Waag, an excellent work. He has treated both the Avesta and Pahlavi basic texts but left out the longer comments added to them. If my notes on this edition are still preserved they will form a further contribution.

It should not be forgotten that there is almost nothing like finality in our big and small studies ; but whenever they are undertaken there should be conscientious efforts to remain up-to-date and to clear as may obstacles as possible, so that the work may be useful to others. This outlook and attitude are generally lacking in the publications undertaken under the scheme of "encouraging higher studies and research . . . . among the students" as well as that of prize-essays. It is indeed very creditable on the part of our young and old friends that in spite of quite other professional duties they devote their spare time to such work. But they should not take everything so easy nor write mechanically after some questionable models, but try to follow recognised standards. I must refrain from making individual criticisms in their cases. But should I not wonder when it happens that I have to tax my brains in finding sense or removing obstacles almost at every step in a defective text, whereas someone has translated it without any break or hindrance and calls its style to be simple and so forth; or when I come across the following eloquent passage which I find to be mis-applied ! "Manushchihr's power of analysing and recording impressions was extraordinarily great. We must translate, as the acquired instinct of a true critical faculty will gradually enable us to do, his language into our own ; in doing so we shall come to learn how far the thought or feeling below the language is our own also. He did bring to his writing the heavy armament of scholarship, and did give to it the qualities of industry, patience, and conscientiousness. They are qualities with which criticism can hardly dispense. But he had a miraculous gift of expression, never surpassed, seldom if ever equalled." There are also surprises of other type but I may leave them aside.

I add all this not out of love for criticism ; I have also no desire to disparage anybody ; I want rather to encourage everybody. But it must be emphasized that such things do not serve the great and good purpose of pure studies. It is all very well to show interest and enthusiasm, yet they should not be made an end by themselves but should remain the means to the end. If these qualities are properly put into work by one's own discipline and by other people's guidance—which guidance can be both personal and otherwise—much better results can be achieved. Personal guidance might have been lacking in the past. But this should be remedied. Dr. Unvala, who is now so to say at the helm of Iranian studies at Bombay, should look to it. Of course, willing response and co-operation from both sides are essential for that purpose. We have to remember that these gentlemen will be or are already the leaders, on whom depends the future fate of Iranian studies at Bombay. Mr. M.F. Kanga and Mr. H.F. Chacha have already shown some signs of good scholarship. Other teachers and former students should also be encouraged for the right sort of work. What is done at present is neither adequate nor enough.

Speaking of Dr. Unvala reminds me of his admirable work on the Sanskrit Yasna which he seems to have discontinued because of his archaeological and numismatical studies. But now he may take it up again, especially for the sake of providing help to the Pahlavi Yasna.

Originally it was my intention to discuss our other needs including the provision for works on religion, history, culture, etc. for the use of the general public. But that is too vast a field for the present occasion. I shall however not omit to mention the prominent name of Shams-ul-Ulama Dastur Dr. Dhalla who has only recently added one such work, *Ancient Iranian Literature*. Indeed, I expected it to be much more comprehensive, especially as regards Paḥlavi books. There are pieces which deserve to be known as specimens having some literary beauty and charm, to say nothing about their cultural value.

I believe this general review of Iranian studies will give you some idea of their present state and future prospects. One may naturally expect to have it in another form and order. I have, however, just related the things as they occurred to me. In any case, my words alone by themselves cannot achieve the object that is at my heart. For that one must do actual work—in study rooms with a few devoted minds who are prepared for patient labour and hard thinking. Herzfeld somewhere speaks of working in the field of the Avesta as working on an archaeological site full of debris containing some precious finds. But the same applies to the entire Iranian literature, both ancient and middle. In spite of its literary character our work therein is more of a scientific nature, something like solving mathematical problems with all sorts of computation and permutations. This is true of various other branches, but it is more particularly so with the Iranistic. For that very reason Iranian scholars have a right to demand greater care and consideration, support and encouragement from all sides—the Government, the Universities, the Oriental Societies, and the like. Essential books and learned journals should be provided, and also means for publishing researches. The matter should not be considered as the private concern of the Parsis.

But on this occasion I shall say nothing further about this point. A few words, however, might be expected for the encouragement given by the All-India Oriental Conference under whose auspices we have met here. Unfortunately, I have found only a couple of *Proceedings and Translations* of its sessions, and so full justice may not be done to its efforts. It is sufficient if I express the gratitude of all of us for alloting an honourable place to the Iranian Section, and add the desire for not keeping it in a side and water-tight compartment by itself but taking it in a more comprehensive view. This applies to other sections also, and so it becomes a wider and more complicated question which I need not discuss here. Also in the past, when the ways and means to promote Oriental, that is, practically Sanskrit or Indian—with some regard for Persian-Arabic,—studies in our country were discussed, Avesta and in a more general fashion, Iranian were coupled with the Vedic section. I refer to the *Report of the Conference of Orientalists. . . .*at *Simla*, 1911. Of course, no proper provision was made for them. But now the things should be improved.

Therefore, once again at the end as in the beginning I turn to our brother-Indian-Sanskritists. They have contributed a worthy share to the progress of Indological studies on western lines. They have taken up also non-Brahmanical literature—in Prakrit of the Jainas and in Pali of the Buddhists. For the latter they have attacked even the difficult field of Chinese besides that of Tibetan. And sooner or later Indonesian languages, Malay, Javanese, Kavi etc. will also be studied. Now, Indian Sanskritists may not take up so assiduously the entire field of Iranian studies, but some of them at least can easily include Avestan in the sphere of their work. Its grammar is practically the same as that of Vedic Sanskrit, and the knowledge of its phonology naturally forms part of Aryan or Indo-Iranian Philology The beginning has been made. In spite of my criticism Dr. Taraporewala deserves our thanks for his personal instruction as well as for his *Avesta Selections* that have led to that beginning. Yet let us not stop at that beginning but take steps for its reform and progress. And then, but only then, it must be emphasized—some tangible, useful results will be obtained. One does not expect a batch of specialists every year; but those who take up this subject either in part or as the whole should be able to follow, understand, and appreciate the labours of specialists. They may form the much desired link between these and general public interested in the subject. And why not, one or another of them may contribute something even original. Let it be little but let it be right. Similarly scholars of Persian and Arabic can be of great help to us, as can be seen from the works of some Western scholars. But more about it on another occasion, though a few remarks are added below.

But here I must really stop. I thank you for your patience, and pray you for your indulgence for whatever defects my address my have.

NOTES

Certain points referred to in the address require to be further developed. I have preferred to do this here at the end instead of in the body of the address, which would have been rather cumbersome.

NOTE 1. IRANISTIC AND ISLAMIC STUDIES

Some words about the true nature of the break between the Ancient or Zoroastrian and Modern or Islamic Persia are here necessary, since the matter is not yet properly investigated nor correctly represented. Literature is closely allied to life, and life to religion. Consequently literature is greatly affected by religion. Even the predominantly secular literature of the West is tinged with Christianity ; some consider it unthinkable without it. Then how much more so in the East where the whole life in general and literary and artistic spheres in particular are fully submerged in religion ? Here the literature is not merely tinged but totally permeated by it. We really cannot think of the one without the other.

Because of this general phenomenon then, there is no wonder if Modern or New Persian literature as a post-Islamic product is more allied to the literature of Arabia than that of Ancient or Zoroastrian Persia. With the adoption of Islam as religion and, at least for the first few centuries, that of Arabic as the language of culture and science, the influence of Arabia became especially predominant. With the exception of a couple of metres the whole metrical system and even the whole poetical art in general can be said to be based on Arabic models. It is therefore natural and also necessary, if New Persian studies are coupled with Arabic ones. But the point should not be stretched too far, as is generally done,—so much so that the limitation 'New' is generally omitted, and the matter is treated as if there is nothing like Old and Middle Persian.

Indeed, New Persian literature exhibits an extreme case ; yet it is not wholly isolated or absolutely unique. Something of the sort has happened in the case of English literature too. While speaking on its lineage Quiller-Couch very pertinently and emphatically remarks : "From Anglo-Saxon Prose, from Anglo-Saxon Poetry our living Prose and Poetry have, save linguistically, no derivation". He italicises these words and, after suggesting that Anglo-Saxon literature died of inherent weakness, proceeds : "Chaucer did not inherit any secret from Caedmon or Cynewulf, but deserves his old title, 'Father of English Poetry', because through Dante, through Boccaccio, through the lays and songs of Provence, he explored back to the Mediterranean, and opened for Englishmen a commerce in the true intellectual mart of Europe." (*On the Art of Writing*, p. 143.f.) Later English poets naturally followed suit. Elsewhere the same author declares something to the following effect (I have missed the page and so am not sure of his exact words) : For historical and still more for religious and mythological figures and models Western nations look to Greece rather than to their own Nordic ancestors. Apollo and the Muses, Zeus and the other great ones of Olympus remain the authentic gods of modern European literature, beside whom the gods of northern Europe——Odin, Thor and others—are strangers, unhomely and uncanny as anything.

Now, all this forms an excellent commentary to the nature of New Persian poetry in its relation to Ancient or Zoroastrian Persian. We are just to change the names, and the whole remains true. Of course, there are also exceptions and those too of no mean value but of most sublime character—like the immortal epic of Firdausi, the *Shāh-nāma*. Thanks to this national epic ancient Persian heroes, either legendary or historical, are no strangers, unhomely and uncanny, to Persian poets and even to Persian people. There are also other works which deal with and derive their material from the ancient period, the most notable being the *Gerśāap* (for the correct *Kersāsp*) *nāma* of Asadī. Huart's edition with French translation, on which I have prepared some critical–textual and exegetical remarks, has remained incomplete ; but later on a Persian scholar has supplied a complete edition of this work. Then I may mention *Vīs u Rāmīn*, on which no less a scholar than Minorsky has written a full Commentary (in *BSOAS* 11. 741 ff.) to prove it to be a Parthian romance in accordance with the tradition that it was originally in Pahlavi. Even these exceptions breathe a different spirit as far as religious and other factors are concerned. In short, it is natural and necessary if New Persian studies go together with Arabic and Islamic studies rather than with Ancient Persian or Zoroastrian studies.

But there is no justification for the total break which is assumed and also acted upon. Just as nobody doubts the venerable character of Anglo-Saxon and divorces it from the study of English literature, so nobody should do the same with the Old and Middle Iranian remains, while studying New Persian literature. Anglo-Saxon is considered worthy to be studied as the mother of modern English, and its historical, if not literary, value is always recognised, perhaps more so in Germany than in England itself. When specialisation comes in question, then of course a dividing line is drawn between the philological and literary periods for practical reasons. This is done also in the case of German literature where they begin the modern period, say, with Goethe, and leave the older period to the philologists so to say. But nobody thinks-of a complete break and divorce between the two. Everybody is expected to know at least the elements of both.

This plan and attitude should be adopted in the branch of Iranian studies also. Claims of Old and Middle Iranian are of course recognised officially and theoretically by, for instance, Calcutta University, as we have said in the course of this address; but that is not enough. Practically they are ignored as of old. Proper steps should be taken to remedy this evil and this drawback. For want of real, first-hand knowledge of the subject writers depend upon second or even third-hand sources, and [illegible] at some old, antiquated views and theories. One of them calls the Gathas "dull sermons" of the prophet about which I shall be speaking elsewhere. Another declares that there does not survive "a single specimen of Sassanian poetry" ; About this I may add a few words here.

It is strange that this view should be repeated long after Benveniste brought to light good, bad, or indifferent specimens of epic, narrative, and religious poetry of that period ; and also after the present writer took an occasion to refer to them with some additional data (see my-article 'Some Thoughts on Shahnama Vocables' in the *Iran League Quarterly*, 6·89 ff. 1936). More recently, I have added another specimen to the number, (see 'A Didactic Poem in

Zoroastrian Pahlavi' in *Indian Historical Quarterly*........). I should not conceal the fact that these specimens reveal only more or less crude verses. But however remote they may be from a measurable distance from high class poetry, they at least allow us to surmise that more of the type must have existed before, but is now lost in the general destruction of ancient records.

As to the real dearth of high class poetry, I have given the reason in the first named article, namely, the stern ultra-religious attitude of the early Sassanids. There I compared a similar phenomenon under Safavids, which occurred in the very midst of the fully developed poetical period. But such parellels of narrow-minded Church and Clergy retarding the growth and spread of poetry are not so isolated. History of Christianity offers a number of them as can be gathered from Quiller-Couch, *On the Art of Writing*, pp. 170-174. Moreover, my surmise finds a direct confirmation in some early Muslim writers by whom "the prohibition of poetry was called 'foreign (or Persian) pietism' ", (*BSOAS* 10.838). There is little doubt that the original must be '*ajam*' which refers here as usual to the next lying Persian and no other foreign people.

Besides those traces of fine literature, there are others about scientific literature. Years ago Nallino showed that Greek astrological and agricultural books in Arabic translation came through Middle Persian. And now Bailey has called various references on this point, especially from Pahlavi writings as I remarked while mentioning his *Zoroastrian Problems in the Ninth-Century Books* (see p. 80 ff.) ; cf. also my article 'Al Bīrūnī and Orientalistics' in the *Al-Biruni Commemorative, Volume*, p......As to the *Dēnkart* evidence in particular, it is necessary to investigate the context in which these matters are discussed and the foreign, Greek and Indian, works are mentioned, so that one can decide whether the author refers to ancient, Pahlavi writings or to some modern versions with which he was otherwise acquainted.

Then, even for religious ideas in Islam Zoroastrian writings afford some interesting data. I do not mean the superficial comparisons which are now and again brought forward. They have very little scientific value. But it is worth while to trace some characteristic conceptions preached by the Islamic sects having their origin in Persia. In my article 'Eine Pahlavi-Glosse ueber die Vierheit Ormazds' I have done this in connection with some Muctazilite beliefs about the Godhead. As to religious customs the matter is far more clear and evident.

Thus, on the one hand, 'Iranian' is not to be identified with or limited to 'Zoroastrian' ; it is a much wider term, and Zoroastrianism forms only a part, although a very important part, a fundamental factor indeed. But on the other hand, things do not cease to be 'Iranian' with the advent and adoption of Islam in Persia. They obtain no doubt another aspect, a new life and vigour,—for instance, the blossoming forth of high class literature and sciences. A distinct break in religious matters is not be denied, but as I just said a comparative study can be fruitful to a certain degree. Moreover, popular customs and beliefs even in Islamic Persia can form a commentary to Zoroastrian texts. All this is a matter of course. Old links are never fully or universally obliterated. But it requires patient study and scientific research to establish them.

In this connection I should not forget the efforts made by modern Persia for the spread of knowledge about its past among its own people. The new interest began many years ago together with the political awakening. One of the poets who sang of the new spirit, Poure Davoud, took particular interest in Zoroastrianism, and later on prepared Persian version with the help of European translations of the Avesta and added various antiquarian matters from the researches. This work, published under the patronage of some Parsis, must have induced other Persian scholars to devote some time to the study of the Avesta and allied literature. A few like S. H. Taqizadeh did it even before this event, and have produced also scholarly work of research. I mean his various contributions in *BSOAS* etc., in particular. Standard works in history and the like have been also made availablet o the general reader as I mentioned above in one case. These efforts are laudable, and the approach is really scientific. But there plays sentiment too its part, which is inevitable, yet should not be allowed to take upper hand, for it does not enhance but rather retards the cause of science. At least in the seat of learning it should find as little encouragement as possible.

Now in Teheran University too they have included Iranistic as one of the subjects of study. Poure Davoud is the Professor of Avesta and Ancient Iranian Culture (*ostāde avastā o farhang e īrān e bāstān*). There are also some other gentlemen who are supposed to know and teach Pahlavi. But the subject is full of pitfalls, and care should be taken from the very beginning to introduce a sound system and strict procedure. Else the result would be of doubtful character only. Without training in Greek and Latin or in Sanskrit Avestan grammar is not easy ; and Pahlavi has its own special difficulties.

Recently (1948) there has appeared a voluminous work, *mazdayasnā va ta sīreān dar adbeyāt e pārsī* by Dr. M Moīn as one of the publications of the Teheran University (No. 9). It is accompanied by an Introduction in French by Henry Corbin giving a summary of the work. Its French title *L' influence du Mazdéisme dans la Littérature persane* led me to believe that the work must be dealing with recent Persian literature showing the influence of the new movement. But it does not. It deals with the classical Persian literature or rather poetry as far as it contains references to Zoroastrian matter and terms. This is also a laudable theme. A matter-of-fact collection with purely scientific commentary would be always useful. There is also Bombay Ph. D. thesis by a Parsi student Dr. B. M. Gai : Life in pre-Islamic Iran as gleaned from Persian mathnawis. It does not seem to have been published. Such studies should be made available, and that for two reasons: firstly for the advancement of knowledge for the further impetus in the same or another direction, and secondly for judging the scholarly character of the thesis, for public criticism which works as check and demand on the candidate. The beneficial effect of this method is apparent. That is perhaps one of the reasons why even a successful candidate is not allowed to bear the degree and call himself Doctor before the publication of his thesis in Germany and probably elsewhere on the Continent.

In the Persian Preface to that work contributed by Poure Davoud claim is made that the influence of the religion of ancient Iran is to be found not only in poetical works like the *Shāh-nāma* and *Gerŝasp-nāma* and prose treatises like *Qābūs-nāma* and *Siyāsat-nāma* but throughout the Persian literature of one thousand years and, it is added, it is impossible that it can be otherwise, because our (that is of modern Persians)land, race, and language are the same as they were before for several thousand years ! Now this goes far, far bevond what myself have claimed and what is reasonable. Poure Davoud's view may be a noble sentiment, but it is not sound scholarship or true history. Also Henry Corbin takes rather a too optimistic view of the whole situation in general and of Dr. Moin's work in particular. I admit I may be too pessimistic and hypercritical and hold too strict opinions about higher studies and researches. Yet one can easily judge by the results achieved. Although Corbin's studies on the Eśrāqiyūn philosophers—Sohravardi and others—are not known to me, I am prepared to believe what he says about them. But what the Persian poets as such have transmitted about the ancient religion, its beliefs and customs, can neither be called adequate nor authentic ; it is meagre and often incorrect. I do not see how Corbin can declare it as authentic records of spiritual tradition preserved by those who secretly honoured or openly disowned Zarathustra and what passed as his religion—the tradition which is based on other criterions than those of position history ("authenticité d' une tradition spirituelle, fondée sur d' autres critères que celle de l'histoire positive," p.8). However this may be , it cannot be my object to examine what he calls "les visions trés neuves" especially in the last chapter on 'Mazdéism and Sufism'. But I must warn the reader not to put absolute trust in such illusory matters. It is true 'mine' and other terms in Sufi poetry are symbols, but they cannot be proved direct reminiscences of *hauma* etc. in the Yasna ceremony of the Zoroastrians. And if they are, what do we gain as positive and new notions about the ancient ritual ? Surely not that 'Zoroastrism in the beginning was an extatic mystery (p. 12.) if by Zoroastrism is meant the religion of Zarathustra. Of course, Nyberg too puts forth this extatic theory, but it is wholly mistaken. Leaving aside other details my advice and contention is that Iranistic will flourish only if it is cultivated by linguistic and historical methods as illustrated in the best and most successful examples of the West.

The best help that Persian and Arabic scholars can render in the cause of Iranistic, is to prepare monographs on Iranian antiquities scattered in early historical and other treatises —critical edition of the sources, their exact translation, and necessary commentary. P. Schmaz, for instance, has included such details in his monumental work *Iran im mittel alter ;* but his principal object being different, this task may be undertaken anew,—advisably in co-operation with a competent Iranist. I am happy to add here that a young muslim scholar of Bombay, Prof. B.M. Tirmidhi, has prepared a paper for present occasion on 'Zoroastrians and their Fire-Temples' from Arabic sources. Some such solid studies should be really encouraged ; and I hope that the author will continue his meritorious labours in the right direction. More difficult but not less important task would be a new examination of the religious movements in the first centuries of Islam. Any reader even of E. G. Browne's account thereof in the first volume of his *Literary History of Persia* must be convinced of the supreme importance of this subject for the religious history of ancient Iran. But neither favourable sentiment nor unfavourable prejudice-both products of shallow or narrow mindedness- should have place in the domain of study or research.

NOTE 2 IRANISTIC AND INDOLOGY.

On the importance of Iranistic for Indology I have already referred to my article in *Visva-Bharati Quarterly*, 1948, p.123 ff. But two points require a special mention here. There is no doubt about the mutual help rendered by Old Iranian or Avesta and Old Indian or Sanskrit to each other in the elucidation of their phonology and accidence. It should not be supposed that Sanskrit being rich in every respect does not require the help of the fragmentary Avesta. Any elementary but reliable work on the subject is sufficient to show the contrary. But it is a pity that even elementary facts are not a matter of common knowledge among those who deal with the subject in India. Else I should not have come across, in a linguistic work, a remark to the effect that Indo-European consonants are best preserved in Sanskrit, especially the aspirates. This is misleading. Sanskrit has preserved the old aspirates but not the whole consonantal system. It has not only changed, for instance, the original palatals into sibilants, like other *satom* languages, but it also shows some further development whic can be checked by Avestam. Similarly the greater mixing up of gutturals and palatals followed by *s* can sometimes be distinguished with the help of this sister tongue. It is very probable that the above-mentioned remark was not meant to be taken seriously. It was perhaps thrown out to arouse the interest of the general public. It is of course necessary to make the public take interest in such matters, but that should not be done at the cost of science. Moreover, grammatical facts are like natural or climatic laws, for which the people living in that particular climate do not deserve any merit or demerit.

The other point which I want to emphasize here is the importance of Pahlavi writings for the primitive Iranian and therefore eventually also for Indo-Iranian or Aryan beliefs. This is not the place to substantiate the brief notes given in the afore-said article, p.128 ff. Yet I may add that not only the meaning of *Karma* in *Brh Up.* 3.2.13 is 'work-soul' as proved by the Pahlavi glosses, but also other details in it show remarkable resemblance to the Iranian comparison between Macrocosmos and Microcosmos or great world—nature or universe—and small world—human body. More about this elsewhere. I may take this opportunity for correcting a mistake for which I was not responsible. The Latin adage at the end of p.129 should read "Laborare est orare" ; what occurs there is inserted by the editor for my English equivalent "Work is Worship"

The remarks about modern Indian languages are not restricted to purely linguistic or literary matters, but they refer also to allied subjects, for instance, sociological. These studies should not be carried on as something quite apart from the language or without any due regard to it. Such is, however, the case with a few articles I have come across in *Journal of the University of Bombay*, Vol. 17. Parts 1 and 4. The transcription in 'The Raniparaj Proverbs ' is not exact ; it may be called either learned in the wrong sense or mechanical. Anybody who knows Gujarati and Marathi can see it for himself ; I need not illustrate my charge. Then one would have liked to see the specific dialect words and forms explained in notes and collected in a list. The translation too is far from exact; someties even incorrect. In short, the whole article is unsatisfactory from the view point of the language student. One could have brought out many instructive data from the material. As a general remark I may add that the proverbs show a great deal of Marathi influence, whereas Bhil languages are classed along with Gujarati by Grierson. The whole work may be done again for linguistic purposes.

A similar disregard for language questions may be observed in 'A Sociological study of the Jats in Kathiawad.' More information about the speech of this people or tribe could have easily been gathered and made available. The writer has at least not omitted the original text of their songs, as he has done in his later study on the Mianas in Part 4. But even a superficial comparison with the translation shows that this is far from exact, so much so that not only linguistic facts and literary charm, humour, etc. remain concealed, but also sociological ones—peculiar marriage and other customs referred to in the songs—are obliterated. One may think a different version is rendered, as it seems to be the case some times. It is a pity that Miana songs are not quoted in the original; they would have been of still greater interest, since their language is said to be mixed with Cutchhi. I sincerely hope that these and other aspects, e.g. sources of information, may be attended to in a scholarly spirit, so that more useful work can be achieved by just a little more trouble.—Also historians, for instance, should not miss the opportunity of acquainting us with rare words and idioms while dealing with their original sources. They cannot simply declare, they as historians are concerned with the facts about their 'heroes' and the like.

It may be a digression but I must refer to one particular matter. As to the Parsi history I am pained to read again and again the old wrong dates, etc. in spite of the new ones supplied by the masterly research of Prof. S. H. Hodivala. In general this sort of 'essay writing' or compilations from more or less doubtful sources should not be tolerated in learned societies and learned journals. The time, money, and energy—and today also paper—should be saved for better and nobler purposes.

Some more words about the peculiarly difficult nature of Iranistic may not be out of place. When I say that in spite of its literary character our work therein is more of a scientific nature, I mean also that there does not arise the question of the choice between the historical and the literary—i.e. aesthetic or artistic—study of a literature. The latter aspect is not altogether absent. I myself have demanded its inclusion in the study of the Gathas, for instance, and also in that of even some Pahlavi texts (*Indo-Iranica*, 3. 29). But the very preliminary task of formal interpretation is not yet fully achieved,—a task which is often as thankless as full of difficulties. There is more work and less or no pleasure, which is not denied to workers in the field of other ancient literatures. Both Greek and Latin, for instance, possess works of highly artistic and aesthetic value. One reads them and translates them not only to know and diffuse the facts and ideas they contain but also to enjoy and spread the joy they afford. Hence there are elaborate discussions on the method and manner of translating them so that the latter object may be attained in some measure. Recall the lengthy essays and counter-essays by Matthew Arnold 'On Translating Homer'. I may also refer to a remarkable passage from *Day Dreams of a School-Master* by D'Arcy W. Thompson, protesting against calling Greek a dead language. He can understand, he says, what is meant by a Dead Sea. He describes it graphically as a sheet of water cut off from all intercourse and slumbering in a desolate wilderness. But, he then asks, can such a term be applied to that Hellenic speech which in the Iliad has rolled, etc.—mentioning other illustrious names like those of Pindar and Plato, Aeschylus and Demosthenes—and ends with a just challenge : If it be dead, then what language is alive ? Someone has adapted this passage to the Sanskrit language and Sanskrit authors. And actually we know that Sanskrit literature is studied and enjoyed like those of Greek and Rome. Indeed for all these languages too there is a seamy side, demanding hard thinking and strenuous labour for dry fields and difficult problems ; but there is always some compensation.

Iranian on the whole is a field of ruins and fragments which are put together by 'editors' devoid of art and thought. And yet the matter is not so hopeless as Geldner once expressed. These ruins conceal precious gems. One has of course to try hard to get at them. And for this we require more and more workers of real calibre,—with brains, method, and application, besides special knowledge. Even in the West their number is extremely limited. Their achievement however is indeed superb. Here in India one should follow their guide more and more ; instead of that it is done less and less. The few facts mentioned above about the work done in the West and in India speak for themselves. I need not dwell upon the point further. Yet I most earnestly appeal to all the concerned to change this chaotic condition. The Indian Government and other bodies should shoulder the responsibility as they have done in the case of Sanskrit and Persian-Arabic studies;—if necessary, even at the cost of these. I make the same claim for Modern Indian languages. We can spare some Sanskrit scholars, for instead of doing duplicate work in the same field or for the same text or subject, they can well take up Avesta. Prospects of course there can be none; but is not an additional qualification a reward by itself ?—Parsis too should improve the management of their learned institutions. Instead of starting new ones, the old should be amalgamated and brought up-to-date. The K.R. Cama Oriental Institute, for instance, should have been in a position to stand side by side with the Univeristy and the Asiatic Society on the present occasion of the All-India Oriental Conference.

Besides Oriental scholars other professional authors should also take interest in things Iranian ; for Iranian contribution to human culture in general and religious thought in particular is by no means insignificant. In this respect too the West is ahead of us. There the name and work of the Iranian Zarathustra may not be so familiar as that of the Indian Buddha and the Chinese Lao Tse and Confucius for want of sufficient guides ; yet theologians like Bishop Gore and historians like Toynbee have seen the significant greatness of the Iranian prophet. Not only the ancient Gathas but also the Medieval Pahlavi books contain some noble thoughts. For instance, the dualistic account of Ohrmazd and Ahriman is nothing but the " encounter between two superhuman personalities" which Toynbee finds in the greatest dramas from the Bible to Goethe's *Faust*, and in which he sees the geneses of civilizations. There is also a 'wager', called treaty or agreement *pašt*, in that account. Similarly the disquisitions on Time, for instance, are really philosophical. But first of all they must be exactly translated, and, whenever necessary, freed from their priestly environment;—a task which is by no means easy, as I said in my remarks on this head above. And yet every effort must be made in that direction. In this connecton it should be remembered that even if we cannot clarify truth it is worth while at least to illuminate confusion. In other words, to find out faults and ascertain mistakes is also a step forward in our search for truth. Lastly I may draw your attention to the mottos placed at the beginning. They give in nutshell the essence of my contentions in general. To them may be added : Know Thy Texts,— an advice of a witty Professor when he was requested to give some hints for the examination ; and 'spare me your lucubrations, give me facts or ideas' as Amiel wished ; and also, as a saying runs : 'Let not the Good be the Enemy of the Best !'

Then to complete the picture given above I may add a few remarks on the beginning of the Iranian studies on Western lines in Bombay and the neighbourhood. There was a sort of traditional method of learning Zoroastrian subjects pursued by a few priests ; but it could not be compared with the sister methods among Hindus and Muslims. Whatever may be the defects and short-comings in the manner of studying Sanskrit and Indian lore on the one hand and Persian-Arabic and Islamic lore on the other in traditional schools, these represented a very solid factor, and even now serve some good purpose. Compared to them the scholastic activity of the Parsis was very poor, a mere "shadow, of the shade", and their schools have long passed out of existence. They were perhaps no schools at all but only private classes for occasional friends and relatives of a couple of learned high-priests. Nobody has left any account of the traditional mode of study ; yet one can form a fair idea from the manner in which the MSS. are prepared (for the earlier period see my article, 'Zur Pflege des iranischen Schrifttums in Mittlalter,' *ZDMG.* 98.294 ff.) and also from the printed work done before and about the advent of the Western method.

The honour of introducing it belongs to a layman , a scion of a business family and himself a businessman—K.R. Cama. During his sojourn in Europe he studied Avesta and Pahlavi under Spiegel at Erlangen, and on his return to Bombay opened a class to impart the new knowledge to an intelligent band of young priests. This was really a unique thing and an epoch-making event. The beginning was good and the progress not worse. The first generation of scholars left a creditable record of work. Mention may be made of the services of K.E. Kanga in the field of Avesta, of T.D. Anklesaria in that of Pahlavi, and of S.D. Bharucha in that of both in a general manner for the spread of religious knowledge. This work was carried on and extended to other Iranian subjects by no less a personality than Jîvanji J. Modi. Moreover, in his official capacity as Secretary of the Parsi Panchayet he helped the cause of Iranian studies in various respects. Khurshedji Pavry may also be mentioned as a distinct type out of our early scholars. (It is strange, let it be added here, that his son Dr. Jal Pavry practically gave up this line soon after his Doctorate.)

But somehow or other in spite of these as well as other capable scholars whom I have paid my homage above a full contact was not kept up with the Western progress—especially in the field of Avesta, and certain methods were not changed in that of Pahlavi. Enough has been said about this in the proper place ; and nothing shall be added about the numerous Parsi Funds and Institutions started for advancing the cause of this scholarship, however necessary and desirable it may be.

Yet one suggestion as regards the study of Avesta should be made. Everybody recognises the value of Sanskrit in this respect. Therefore ways and means should be found to apply that useful instrument even for young pupils taking up Avesta in schools. Those who take up Pali do not begin with Pali but with Sanskrit. Can we not adopt this wise plan for Avesta also ? If the text book of Sanskrit commonly used for learning the language is not suitable, a new one may be written with the special purpose in view, say by adding the necessary Vedic elements and omitting the unnecessary details of Classical Sanskrit. As to the study of Pahlavi, the suggestion made about its transcription should be applied in school books also. Of course all this means hard work and is a costly affair ; but nothing worth the name can be achieved without proper means.

6 Presidential Address : Classical Sanskrit (III)

By Dr. V. Raghavan, Madras.

Friends and Fellow-delegates,

As I stand before this great *mela* of scholars, my young legs seek support in the sustaining memory of one who stood on many occasions before gatherings of this Conference, and in its very first session, as also later again, adorned the chair in this same Section of Classical Sanskrit, my revered Ācārya, the late Mahāmahopādhyāya Prof. S. Kuppuswami Sastri. When I think of the pre-eminent place which, by its popularity, this Section has always held in the Conference, and of the eminent scholars who have presided over it in the past, I can only say that you, my elders and colleagues here, have given me this recognition so that, with confidence and enthusiasm, I may devote myself to more intense work in the coming years.

Tvat-sambhāvitam ātmānam
bahumanyāmaahe vayam |
prāyaḥ pratyayam ādhatte
svaguṇeṣūttamādaraḥ ||

Kumārasambhava, VI. 20.

In a farflung country like ours, the usefulness of a Conference like this for the fostering of those personal contacts among scholars which are very necessary in their work, cannot be exaggerated. In my own experience I know how profitable have been the scholarly contacts that I could make or stabilise through this Conference since first I appeared at its Mysore Session with the prospectus of the *New Catalogus Catalogorum*, and began collecting information about public and private manuscript collections in the different parts of the country. I am unable to refrain on this occasion from referring to the fact that my presiding over this Section of the Conference is marked by the providential coincidence of the publication of the first part of that New Catalogus Catalogorum. I believe a few at least here have seen it. Because of the abnormal war-conditions prevailing at the time it was given to Press, only a severely rationed number of 300 copies of it could be printed and consequently presentation of the work could be made only to select representative institutions in the country and abroad. A catalogue of this kind is always an imcomplete work, and in the circumstances in which, with meagre facilities and no assistance beyond a little at the beginning, I had to carry on the work single-handed, I am sure I have not been able to achieve in the work such excellence as I myself, not to mention critics, could set before me. Comparing it with works done at other centres, it is not an undertaking of less difficulty or magnitude than the Mahābhārata or the Vedic Index, or the New Sanskrit Dictionary. Comparing it with a work done at our own place, on a computation made by me, it would be one and a half times the size of our Tamil

Lexicon, in the titles alone ; in the information entered under each title, it is, of course, of greater extent. Therefore further efficiency or expedition is dependent entirely on increased facilities and encouragement. I hope what I have done will be received in the same helpful spirit in which both learned institutions and individual scholars have, in the past, helped the work and encouraged me.

The Conference has now completed thirty years of existence. In more than one Presidential Address here in the past, it has been mentioned that the days of great research in Indology in the West are past, and it is in India that we should look forward to a great future for Oriental research. From the post-war lecturing tour of Prof. Norman Brown in India, it was plain that the increasing interest in regional studies would result,—if already they have not resulted,—in the decline of work in Vedic and Classic Sanskrit in America. However it is too early to make any surmise, and if we can judge from the gradually increasing contacts that we are recently having after the war with Orientalists at University centres in the West, Orientalism in the West might re-emerge with greater force. In one of his addresses delivered during his tour of India last year, Prof. Louis Renou referred to the conflict, confusion and schisms that are developing in Indianism in the West as maintaind at Universities by the linguistic, textual and critical Orientalists and as spread among the general cultured public through mystic expositions by Indian missionaries. But such conflict and confusion do beset our work in India also ; nor is the scholastic *versus* the mystic and the religious our only conflict ; there is the opposition between the critical and the orthodox ; a major increasing malady is regional enthusiasm which are as much as the national patriotism which colours a class of writings. Regarding the regional bias, it is the duty of all-India cultural bodies like the one under whose aegis we are meeting to emphasise the fact that, granting the variety of local elements and the different contributory strands in the rich tapestry of Indian civilisation, an ever-increasing unity has always been emergent on this soil, which should not be lost sight of ; this realisation of unity in diversity, this harmony, is the greatest message that the wisdom of India can offer to the world. The intense intellectual activity of India in times of antiquity when her discoveries ranged from the zero to the *Brahman*, and the equally intense activity of her maritime merchants or itinerant missionaries are all well-recognized. There need be no crying up of ancient India, nor sacrifice of the canons of impartial and disinterested search for truth, in the patriotic pursuit of finding rational justifications of anything ancient or Indian. At a time when western domination is at an end, feelings are apt to run high in some quarters to cry down critical research such as we have imbibed in our contact with the West. While certain extremes or lopsided viewpoints of the West in respect of our literature, art and philosophy have to be avoided and adjusted, its methodology, efficiency and standards should remain with us as a permanent intellectual legacy. If it is necessary to please ourselves on this point, let us say that our intellectual activity too was characterised by these virtues in ancient times, but who can deny we deteriorated and slumbered, and that it required, if we should put it like that, the catalysis of a western contact to rouse and remind us ?

It is not enough to feel that India should now take over leadership in Indological research. Those elders or enthusiasts who enlarge upon this sentiment should, if they have voice in the management of affairs in the scholarly and academic fields, see that the conditions necessary for first-rate work being done are assured in this country. Whether we look at Universities, Government departments, Societies, Periodicals, or Conferences like the present one, we will, if we are not very smug, find that prevailing conditions do not present a happy picture. The undertaking of huge schemes of work in Universities without the adequate provision of facilities for their execution, which makes the quality of even highly competent scholars suffer for reasons beyond their control, appears to be a crime. Red-tape and administrative bottle-necks, bossing and executive tight-sitting dehydrate even the most enthusiastic worker and demoralise the most incorruptible devotee. Collaboration and committee work may be held to have generally failed, except where authors are in small groups of their own choice, the operation of mutual *Śalyasārathya* retarding, if not bringing to a standstill, the progress of a work. Should we not pause and examine and remedy the situation, when we find one of the major Universities of the country issuing a book, which not being a symposium, yet shows its joint authors expressing mutually contradictory views on the same question? The tale is not different with schemes for series of volumes on one subject or another projected by private learned societies or *ad hoc* committees, *pace* the importance and influence of the personalities presiding over them. Still-birth, coldstorage, suspended animation, travail and malformed appearance do not represent an overdrawn picture. It appears best that in this country, instead of trying to organise and manage schemes for collaborated work, individual work is encouraged by the affording of ample facilities.

What shall we say of departments of Government? Where political priorities are natural, electoral rolls are no doubt more urgent than Epigraphia Indica; technological institutes cannot wait, but costly machinery from abroad for the curing of manuscripts can rust in the National Archives without even being set up.

Regarding private Research bodies, except in the case of a few, many of them—and they are quite a large number today—languish for want of support which they badly need; worked by the devotion of a few, their plans share the same fate as is bemoaned in the verse :

Arthena tu vihīnasya
. . . . |
kriyāḥ sarvā vinaśyanti
grīṣme kusarito yathā ||

Raghu. vi. 32.

For instance, we in the Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute at Madras want to bring out the three remaining Uddyotas of the edition of the Dhvanyāloka corrected by Mm. Kuppuswami Sastri, but we have not the funds necessary for this important work. If the Government do not themselves establish, on the analogy of their scientific Institutes at different centres in the country, cultural Institutes for humanities, they should at least give aid to languishing private endeavours in this field.

It is understood that it is one of the recommendations of the Universities Commission presided over by the illustrious Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, that the Research Departments attached to the Universities should be taken over by the centre. Centralisation by itself is no *mantra*, but if routine, red-tape and officialism should really give place to active encouragement and the free flow of required facilities, the possibilities of co-ordinated work are immense indeed; we may even hope for a new era in Indological research.

Whether on all these lines the Government come forward to help us or not, there is one pressing matter, one which at least those research scholars working on the literary side feel as requiring top-priority, which the Government must attend to immediately. Their blueprints for a National Museum and a National Library may go through their own time-scheme, but the constitution of a full-fledged *Manuscripts Survey of India* cannot brook delay. The question of literary records, of ancient manuscripts pertaining to religion, letters, arts and philosophy cannot be merged in the archaeological department or the archives office in which their importance will never meet with adequate appreciation. The question of manuscripts is one in which this Conference has taken continuous interest ; as early as 1911, in the Conference of Orientalists called by Butler in Simla, which may be legitimately called the precursor of our Oriental Conference, a memoradum of mss. was submitted by Haraprasad Sastri. In the proceedings of the very first session of this Conference in Poona, there is a resolution on this subject. Subsequently it has been emphasised in presidential addresses too. If there is one thing about which work on the Catalogus Catalogorum has made me most anxious, it is the manuscripts and after my repeated efforts, the Conference passed at Darbhanga a resolution drawing the attention of the Central and Provincial Governments to the mss. While nothing appears to have been done by the Government in this behalf, we should be glad that even the circulation of this resolution has had some effect. In our own place, the Government have given some fillip to mss. collection and publication. The achievement of good results is however dependent on the right person being in charge of mss. work, this being a specialised branch in itself. It is a matter of common knowledge that research in Sanskrit classics is somewhat in a stalemate today, and unless discoveries are made of mss. of important missing links known from citations, scores of which could be mentioned in each *Śāstra*, we will be only going round and round indulging in *Piṣṭapeṣaṇa.* Collections made decades ago are known to lie still uncatalogued in museums and other places where interests are too wide to permit of urgent attention being paid to mss. ; expert staff to prepare accurate descriptive catalogues and publish them regularly and without delay are necessary ; and selections for publication should be made with an eye to the importance of the text in the history of its particular branch of knowledge. All this necessarily means that only scholars competent for such literary work should be in charge of mss. work ; and this can be arranged for only if this work is organised as a separate department, with its own regional surveys, tours, searches, reports, memoirs and catalogues. If this Conference could concentrate on this question and take it up actively with the authorities, it will be one of its outstanding and lasting achievements. An organised effort under official aegis alone can tackle the manifold difficulties of the mss. situation. Many private collections still exist in darkness; if small, resourceless institutions collect them, they continue in the same oblivion ; curators or honorary officers in charge of mss. libraries are not uniformly qualified or enthusiastic in helping scholars ; huge Government collections still lie uncatalogued ; large collections existing in the erstwhile autonomous states and in personal possession in the palaces or forts of their rulers resist the entry or inquisitiveness of scholars ; in some States, the new regime has affected adversely the mss. position ; it is sad to reflect how the Anup Sanskrit Library in the Fort at Bikaner, so enthusiastically opened by Dr. Kunhan Raja with the help of the previous regime, has now lapsed into its old condition ; the national Government in Kashmir of Sheik Abdulla who asured us of his interest in Sanskrit at the inauguration of the Kashmir University, has not revived the publication and research department of Kashmir which was closed and whose mss. were carried to New Delhi. While in the absence of any information, mere nominal lists are certainly useful it is necessary that cataloguing should proceed on a uniform descriptive plan, giving information as fully as possible and furnished with adequate index-convenience. 'Absentee-Cataloguing' on the basis of extracts prepared by other people should be minimised. Many entries in catalogues betray an inadequate examination of the codices, and additional works are discovered where only one was noted. Mss. examination at the very stage of accession should be thorough and never shirked, for errors of this stage persist and reach the pages of expository treatises. Considering all these factors, it may be said, without appearing to be hypercritical or unappreciative of the excellent work done by some individuals and the high spirit of service shown by some institutions, that we have allowed the mss. question to drift. It is imperative that attention is specially focussed on it and we begin seriously tackling it as a primary issue. Friends, is not mss. study the basic industry of our research field?

Having dealt with some of the more important desiderata that have a general bearing on research in this country at the present time, I desire to make a few comments on some tendencies in the other venues of our research activity, which, though *apirya*, will, I am sure, not be *apathya*. Indian research has in recent times assumed wide dimensions, but the need for adequate depth has not been simultaneously taken care of. Outstanding men have come up, fresh discoveries have been made, rare texts and documents have been edited, numberless little data necessary to fill the picture have been slowly brought to light by many patient workers, and laborious compilations have been made which are of fundamental reference value. But side by side with all this, a good deal of trash is being regularly published in many periodicals and books; ingenious application of apparent research methods to prove traditional beliefs is becoming common; a false ideal of writing a large number of papers and the obvious occupational value of this have recently made the work, especially in the case of some of the younger men in the field, mechanical, mediocre, if not worthless, and merely professional; nay, a worse phenomenon, upon which we could hardly flatter ourselves, 'proxy research' has begun to show its ugly head. Stray scrap is given under imposing title, and adult expression covers up jejune matter. A mere communication of the beginning, end and colophon of a mss. is supposed to be a paper. No effort is taken to find out whether there is earlier work done on the material on hand. Anxiety to rush into print, to steal a march over another or to cut a fellow scholar working on the same subject, lack of scholarly integrity, duplication of a work, suppression of sources, studied silence on earlier writings on the subject, rehash of papers in older issues of other journals, barefaced plagiarims, all these have brought in a decline in both the ethics and the quality of the research work done now. Students in post-graduate degree courses shun difficult or new unexplored fields, and again and again waste time, energy and funds by writing upon thoroughly thrashed-up subjects in *Alankāra* or *Vedānta*. Even higher degrees are sought and secured by rewriting fully available material on well-known books. The bewildering material of early *Nāṭya Śāstra* scares; metrics, on which our versatile Local Secretary has, almost single-handed, been continuing his studies, is shunned by research students. There is a handbook of subjects undertaken for research in the departments of the different Universities issued by the Inter-University Board, not of course uptodated, but I do not think any use was made of it to avoid duplication or for the insistence of taking up studies in neglected branches.

It is for this Conference which brings together scholars in all branches, of all centres and of all stages to be seized of the situation and act as a proper guide for the laying down and maintenance of high standards for Indological research work and to function as the highest tribunal of scholarship in the land. First, two *inventories* should be compiled : one of subjects undertaken for post-graduate work, and another of subjects undertaken for work by scholars. Another preliminary necessary in this regard is the compilation of a comprehensive *index of articles* in all Research Journals. The few volumes of the bibliographies of such material that scholars like Moraes connected with the Historical Research Society, St. Xaviers' College, Bombay, have compiled and the languishing *Indiana* of Sri S.C. Guha Thakura of Benares have been useful to some extent: Before the war, Dr. Horace Isaac Poleman of the Library of Congress who was touring India to popularise microfilming of mss. said that they had proposed to do in their Library an index of articles in all research periodicals ; but recently when he toured India after the war, purchasing gramophone records in local languages, he revealed that in big America too, Governmental priorities led to the shelving of this proposal. This is a work which this Conference should take up and we are all very glad that a start has been made in this direction at this session by the publication of the Index to the papers submitted to the first twelve sessions of this Conference, prepared by Sri K. Venkateswara Sarma of Trivandrum, which I had the pleasure of sponsoring at our last meeting at Darbhanga.

Speaking of the *work of the Conference* and the ways in which it could prove more useful and effective, I might touch upon two more matters : First, many of us feel that the session is too brief even for the contacts, not to mention the reading and discussion of the papers. There is an overcrowding of scholarly work and business of the organisation. If the extension of the session to a day or two more is not feasible, we should at least make greater room and utilise the time more efficiently by a twofold process of providing for the rejection of papers that are of no value as contributions and for the advance circulation of the summaries. This would lead us to the question of a permanent organisation and paid officers and staff, but is it not high time that we set about in right earnest to achieve this idea which we have been wanting to do for some years now ?

The other matter relates to the position of the *Paṇḍitas*. As one who stood up at Nagpur at the time of the passing of the constitution of the Conference for the inclusion of the *Paṇḍitapariṣad*, in accordance with the declared object of the organization to foster oriental learning both on modern and traditional lines, I feel I must make a few observations on this subject, especially in view of the fact that this is the first session in which no *Paṇḍitapariṣad* is held. In explanation of this omision, it is said that our ideal is to bring together the two streams of scholarship and that the *Paṇḍitas* might present their papers, in Sanskrit if they like, in the respective regular sections of the Conference. True, as my revered *Guru* emphasised in his address to the *Paṇḍitapariṣad* at the Mysore session, our ideal is *Pāṇḍitya-Vimarśa-advaita*, and who does not know he was one of the superme examples of that *advaita ?* There have been others too that successfully combined traditional textual mastery with the critical and comparative outlook of modern research. But such are not many. At our University, degree examinations for Oriental title holders, like B.O.L., P.O.L. and M.O.L. have been in vogue, and one's experience as examiner in these shows that rarely do true products come out of this scheme. The difficult process of inducting the traditional type into modern methods could be quickened or its pace forced only at the risk of producing, not *Kṣira-nīra* or *Tila-taṇḍula* combinations, but *Jala-taila* phenomenon. Such of them as feel an aptitude for research are always taken over; regarding the others, not only is it not necessary at all for them to dilute the meaning of research, but it is also necessary for us to realise that that *Pankti-pāṇḍitya* is a speciality of equal value which, as men engaged in the management of things and interested deeply in the preservation of all aspects of our learning and culture, we here should take steps to preserve in its own essential form. On the basis of a simple view, namely, that now that we have our own Government, thee is no meaning in having separately labelled Oriental Colleges, the Madras Government started a few years ago an unwise proposal to assimilate these institutions into the regular educational system. The matter is one that affects not merely Sanskrit, but ancient Tamil also which is as difficult and requires as much cultivation in traditional style. Whether such assimilation officially ordered gradually removes these institutions or not, it is plain to any observer that all over the country the strength and standard of these traditional *tols* are steadily, if not rapidly, going down. Sporadic gestures have been made by some provincial Governments in the form of committees and reports on the question of the Sanskrit Colleges. This again is a matter on which the Oriental Conference should bestow some thought. It is not known whether or not any recommendations on Oriental Colleges have been made by the Universities Commission. An enquiry of all-India scope should be made and suitable steps taken for ensuring the unbroken tradition of the texts. Don't we, as research scholars, bemoan the break in the tradition in *Veda* or *Nāṭya* to which we ascribe the speculative daring of some later commentator?

I have dealt at length on the conditions of research at the present moment and spoken freely on what requires to be done in different departments of our work. But adherence to recent practice in presidential addresses requires a specific *stock-taking of recent work* by naming actual papers and publications falling within the range of the Section. The task of making this detailed reference to work done in the period between this and the last Conference has however been rendered light by two circumstances, one, the short time within which we are meeting again, and the other, on which none could reflect without regret, the still unrelieved conditions in printing and publishing, and the inadequacy of facilities available for Devanāgarī and diacritical Roman compose. Of the limited number of contributions that have appeared in this period in the form of papers or books, the following may be mentioned.

In *epic* poetry, the BORI has published one fascicule of 384 pages of part I of the Rāja-dharma of the *Mahābhārata*, edited by Dr. S. K. Belvalkar. On the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the Madras Samskrita Academy has brought out in bookform the thirty lectures on the epic delivered by the late Rt. Hon. V.S. Srinivasa Sastri, the main features of which are an approach to the work as a poem of deep human interest, evaluation from the moral standpoint, and a systematic attempt at character study of the major actors in its great story. Rev. C. Bulcke of Allahabad has made a substantial contribution to Rāmāyaṇa studies in his long paper on the three recensions of Valmiki's work in the J.O.R. Madras (XVII. i); continuing the work done by Dr. Jacobi on the concordance of the Southern and Eastern recensions and utilising the marginal references in the N.W. recension volumes, Rev. Bulcke gives here a statement and analysis of the variations among these three texts, *Kāṇḍa* by *Kāṇḍa*, which is full except for a few omissions, which are probably conscious ; but these as well as the question of the origin of these recensions which also he considers in his paper, we obviously cannot go into in this survey.

In the field of *classical Sanskrit poetry*, I may be permitted to mention my edition of the Campūkāvya on the life of Ānandaraṅga Pillai, the Dubhash of the French at Pondicherry in the 18th century ; its author Śrīnivāsa had a keen historical sense and is not only accurate on contemporary events, but reveals also a few facts not known from other source-documents of the time, numerous though they are. More important however are two publications which deserve not mere mention here, but special praise. Prof. D.D. Kosambi, it is well-known, has been working for some years now on the Subhāṣitas of Bhartṛhari, and has brought out a number of contributory studies, papers on the problems of both the text and the author, and editions of the Northern and Southern archetypes. Recently he has brought out in the Singhi Jain Series of the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, his final critical variorum edition based on an examination of about 377 mss. of the Śatakas ; this examination of the Bhartṛhari material again confirms the fact that in Indian textual tradition, there is a regular and characteristic method of inflation, in which, centering round an original genuine nucleus, a most plausible process of accretion takes place, producing in course of time what may be designated textual nebulae. The conclusions deduced by Kosambi from his mss. study are manifold and matters of detail which it is not possible to go into just now. It should, however, be said on this occasion that his work on Bhartṛhari forms one of the foremost undertakings of recent years in the field of editing single sizeable texts which, owing to their great popularity have allowed their textual intergity to suffer terribly ; and work of this type ought to be done for similar texts like the Amaruśataka. The name of Prof. K.K. Handiqui, now Vice-Chancellor of the Assam University, will be familiar to all students of Sanskrit literature ; for few are those who have not used and profited by his exhaustive study of the Naiṣadhīya carita. He has now given us an even more elaborate study of the Jain Yaśastilaka campū of Somadeva Sūri (brought out by Dr. A.N. Upadhye in the Jivaraja Jaina Granthamala, Sholapur), a voluminous and versatile author who has packed his long religious romance with a world of learned information, as I have also shown in my long paper, Gleanings from Somadeva's Yaśastilaka campū in the Jha Institute Journal. This sumptuous volume of 539 pages which is only just now to hand is so full of material and discussion that, despite my interest and touch with the theme, I have been able to peruse only select sections, e.g. his discussion in Appendix I on Somadeva, the Kanauj court and the Gauḍa Sangha where I think he has not taken into note all the data pressed by me in my article in the New Indian Antiquary. It must be accepted that in the hands of Prof. Handiqui, the work, like Somadeva's original, has become a mine of information, literary, historical, social, religious and archaeological, the collection of which must have involved prodigious labour. Sanskrit poetic literature, particularly from Māgha and Bāṇa onwards, had taken an encyclopaedic character in the material impounded in their productions by the scholar-poets, and it need hardly be emphasised that such exhaustive studies on each of them would serve to reveal to us a world of data pertaining to the cultural background, historical setting and social *milieu* in which their authors composed them.

To the study of the Mudrārākṣaṣa, its complicated story and interesting but conflicting historiçal sources, for which my edition of the Mudrārākṣasanāṭakakathā with Introduction and Notes offers some help, Dr. G.V. Devasthali, our Section Secretary, has made a useful contribution in his Introduction to the Study of the Mudrārākṣasa (Karnatak Publishing House, Bombay). Of shorter works that have appeared serially in Bulletins : the Journal of the Travancore University Mss. Library has completed two works of the well-known Kerala writer of the 18th century, Rāma Pāṇivāda who set himself the task of enriching neglected departments of literature like Prākṛt poetry and drama, and minor dramatic varieties like Vīthī and Prahasana. We know already of his Vīthī Candrikā given by Prof. K.R. Pisharoti in the Bulletin of the Rama Varma Research Institute, Cochin ; we have now his second play in this class, the Līlāvatī Vīthī. While at the end of his Prahasana, the Madanaketucarita, issued through the same Journal from Trivandrum, he expresses himself to the effect that though his play may be called a Prahasana, if sticklers are not satisfied on his faithful rendering of the type, it might simply be called a dramatic divertissement, *Vindodanam*, he is more theoretically conscious in his exercises in the Vīthī which he defines in the Candrikā ; but it must be pronounced that these specimens composed at his distance of time are as distant from what ancient Vīthī actually was to Bharata, and until we unearth mss. of the comparatively early Vīthīs Mālatikā and Indulekhā quoted by Bhoja in his Śṛṅgāraprakāśa, we cannot say anything about the history of this type, or how and when the old Vīthī was totally forgotten and we were made to content ourselves with the Vīthyaṅgas worked into or indentified in the normal drama, in its prologue or main portion. The farce Madanaketucarita is derivative, a variation of the motif originally employed with clear success by the author of the Bhagavadajjukīya, adding to it part of the *milieu* of the Mattavilāsa too. In the inaugural number of Journal of Oriental Studies started by Pandit Satawalekar of the Swadhyaya Mandal and edited by Sri N.A. Gore, to which our welcome and best wishes are due, the editor gives us the Cimanī carita of Nīlakaṇṭha Śukla, pupil of Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣita, known to us for some time now from Prof. P.K. Gode's articles on the work and the author ; the poem is interesting for the romantic social background and also for a few details pertaining to ancient Indian pedagogic practices. On the Virūpākṣavasantotsava campu of Ahobala, an interesting work in ms. giving us literary and historical data pertaining to the times of the foundation of the Vijayanagar empire, on which I wrote the first elaborate paper the JOR., Madras, (XIV. i) there is an article in the Volume on the progress of Kannada Research in the Bombay Province recently issued by the Kannada Research Institute, Dharwar, which is an example of contributions, unfortunately on the increase in periodicals, which attempt to assume importance by their careful silence on earlier writings on the subject. Research is a continuity, a slow adding up to knowledge already made known on a subject, in which, as Ācārya Abhinavagupta says, the one further step that we take has been made possible by the many steps that others have taken before us :

Ūrdhvordhvam āruhya yad arthatattvam
dhīḥ paśyati śrāntim avedayantī |
phalam tad ādyaiḥ parikalpitānām
viveka-sopāna-paramparāṇām ||

Abhi. Bhā. Gaek. edn. I. p. 280.

In *historical kāvya* literature again, Sri G.V. Bave, in continuation of hi contribution in the Nagpur University Journal (1940), writes upon and edits in the Annals BORI (XXVIII. iii-iv) a newly discovered ms., the Gaḍheśa nṛpa varṇana ślokas, giving useful details of literary and historical information about some poets and their patrons in the 18th cent., the Gond rulers of the Gaḍa Mandla dynasty and Nizam Shah. The date pertaining to the geography of Patna State in Orissa have been set forth by P.C. Rath from the Kosalānanda kāvya in the J. of the Kalinga Research Society (II.i).

In the same issue of the abovementioned Journal, I have drawn attention to the Orissan poet Divākara and his works which include the Abhinavagītagovinda passing as the work of his patron Gajapati Puruṣottamadeva, and P.K. Gode to a family of Karhāḍe Brahmans of Benares between 1550-1660 A.D. some of whom were wellknown authors. On old topics of dicussion, Bhavabhūti's birthplace, Padmapura, which Prof. V.V. Mirashi identified with Padmapur near Āmgaon in the Bhandara Dist. of C.P. in the IHQ. (XI.ii), Sri Siva Prasad who has not seen that article writes in the same Journal from Orissa (II.iii-iv) extending, probably out of local patriotism, the range of Vidarbha upto Orissa and identifying Padmapura with a place of that name in the Chandrapura Zamindari in the Sambalpur Dist. in Orissa. In the JOR., XVI.iv, Sri Madhava Krishna Sarma notes an author belonging to the Kavīndrācārya group, Janārdana Vyāsa, and his works. In part 1 of the Volume published by the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, in commemoration of the Diamond Jubilee of its founder, the reputed author and publicist, Sjt. K.M. Munshi, Dr. S.S. Bhave writes a literary and dramatic appreciation of Act IV of the Vikramorvaśīya, emphasising the similarity of the situation to that in the closing cantos of the Āraṇyakāṇḍa of the Rāmāyaṇa, to the striking parallel between which I had drawn attention in my paper on Vālmīki and Kālidāsa. (K.V.R. Ayyangar Com. Vol.). In the Sino-Indian Journal from Santiniketan (I. ii) Sri N. Ayyaswami Sastri takes up the interesting subject of Buddhistic secular literature, but his inclusion of authors and works here is rather promiscuous. Sri Dinesh Chandra Bhattacharya, who has recently written some very carefully compiled and informing articles in the branch of mss. study, bibliography and chronology of works and authors, for instance his papers on the real author of the Bhāṣāpariccheda, brings out in the IHQ. XXIV. iv a good deal of new information on the date and works of Gaṅgādāsa and his father Gopāladāsa of Bengal.

The reproduction from Abhinanda's Rāmacarita IX. 8-66 in Yogavāsiṣṭha VIa. 128. 81-94 was pointed out by me in my paper on the date of the Yogavāsiṣṭha in JOR., XII.ii. pp. 126-8 ; but the attempt on this or other grounds to identify the Abhinandas of Rāmacarita and Laghu Yogavāsiṣṭha and to ascribe to the same Bṛhad Yogavāsiṣṭha also, which my learned predecessor of last year in this chair makes in a subsequent issue of the IHQ. (XXIV.iii: pp.201-212) will hardly meet with any approval ; the distinction of the authors has been well understood ; also, a reply on Prof. S.P. Bhattacharya's points with particular reference to the date and identity of the Pāla prince who patronised Abhinanda of Rāmacarita, which Dr. D.C. Sarkar gives in IHQ., XXV.ii. pp.132-4, was given years ago by Sri K.S. Ramaswami Sastri in the JOR., III.i. pp. 57-67 and in the introduction to his edition of the poem in the GOS. In the same issue of the IHQ., Sri V.W. Karambelkar of the mss. section of the Nagpur University Library, besides giving details on the Saṅgītacintāmaṇi and Gītamukunda of Kamalalocana, whose names were previously known, writes also about one more and hitherto unknown imitation of the Gītagovinda, the Sangītarāghava of Gaṅgādhara, a Nagpur writer of the 19th century. In the same issue again, the familiar explaining away of introductory verse 18 of the Harṣacarita, on Āḍhyarāja and Utsāha, by Dr. R.C. Hazra as referring only to the "wealthy king!" of "energy", Harṣavardhana himself, and not as referring to a poet and his work, does not take into account a specific mention of an author Āḍhyarāja by Bhoja in ch. xi. of his Śṛṅgāraprakāśa, where it is said that the concluding lines of the sections of Āḍhyarāja's work are marked by his favourite work Abhiprāyāṅka, Dhairya—

> *Teṣu abhiprāyāṅkatā yathā dhairyam*
> *Āḍhyarādjasya*

to which I have drawn attention in my work on Bhoja's Śṛṅgāraprakāśa. And on the word Utsāha also here, I might refer to what I have said in the same Thesis of mine. The word appears to be correct ; without any need for emendation into Ucchvāsa, it appears to be the name signifying a section-division of Āḍhyarāja's work, and as such would be on a par with names like Sarga, one release, Āśvāsa and Ucchvāsa, one breath-taking and Lambha, one reach ; as such Utsāha would mean one essay.

In *poetics* and *dramaturgy*, mention may be made of an article of Sri S.L. Katre of Ujjain in the IHQ. (XXIV. ii. pp. 118-122), in which, taking up the old question whether Daṇḍin ever wrote a Kalāparichheda, either as the fourth chapter of his Kāvyādarśa or separately, he adduces the evidence of certain quotations in the name of Daṇḍin found in Jagaddhara's commentary on the Mālatīmādhava, which, not forming part of the extant portion of the Kāvyādarśa, should be, according to him, from the Kalāpariccheda of Daṇḍin. Citations in Jaggadhara not traceable in the present Kāvyādarśa have been noted previously but have not been deemed sufficient evidence on this question of Kalāpariccheda, one of these on Prauḍhi, being really from Vāmana ; Sri Katre's effort to authenticate these references by inserting the Uktipoṣa quotation in K.Ā. III. 136 or 138 would raise the question of gaps in the K.Ā. which is too big a hypothesis to be based on Jagaddhara's quotation. But writers, both ancient and modern, have held that Daṇḍin probably wrote a further chapter on the Kalās, but no ms. of it had survived : Keśava Bhaṭṭāraka also, whose commentary on the K.Ā. is in ms., says so. But evidence more conclusive than this belief or the vague ascriptions in Jagaddhara is necessary, and it really gives us great pleasure to note that Sri Katre has, in a paper that he has submitted now to this Section, discovered such an evidence in the Jayamaṅgalā on the Kāma sūtras, which proves not only that Daṇḍin wrote the Kalāpariccheda but that it formed part of the Kāvyādarśa. In the Principal Karmarkar Commemoration Volume, Dr. K.N. Watave, one of the few students of Rasa interested in studying it from the point of view of modern psychology, contends in an article on Sthāyibhāva that it should be called, in terms of modern pschology, 'Sentiment' and not 'Instinct' as Dr. D.D. Wadekar and Prof. P.S. Naidu would take it. As Dr. Watave himself admits to some extent, the truth is that the concept of Sthāyibhāva comprehends both, the instinct-aspect as well as the sentiment-aspect ; as the two parts of its name show, Sthāyin emphasises the former and Bhāva, the latter. If we take into account the fact that Sahṛdayatva too has an essentially instinctive basis we may realise that Sthāyin is more fundamentally an instinct. As Dr. Watave himself says here 'While noting the similarity or dissimilarity between some terms of Sanskrit poetics and corresponding terms of modern psychology, we ought to remember that in those old times of Sanskrit writers, psychology as a separate science did not exist' and that 'those intelligent writers have noted a few facts of the mental life of a Rasika only on the strength of introspection'. On the findings of modern psychology should we, as has been proposed by one writer, remove some from the list of Sthāyibhāvas ? Certain Indian concepts, not only in aesthetics but in philosophy too, do not have exactly corresponding ones in Western psychology ; the conclusions of Alaṅkāra or Vedānta Śāstras cannot therefore be discredited on the basis of one theory or another of a branch of modern knowledge which is still being experimented upon and is growing. Comparative evaluation has its own use but how far and to what end we should pursue this is a question which I wish we take up for a Symposium in this section at a future session. In the Munshi Diamond Jubilee Volume, our learned General President draws attention to the correct grammatical and indigenous variants of the word for the stage-curtain, Javanikā and Yamanikā, and rightly criticises the parrot-like repetition of the theory of Greek influence on Sanskrit drama, based on the word-form Yavanikā.

In *metrics*, following up an article of Dr. Kunhan Raja in the Bulletin of the Madras Government Oriental Mss. Library that a revaluation of Sanskrit metres, Vedic and Classical, is necessary on the basis of their rhythm and cadence, and taking as unit not the foot but still smaller rhythmical units, H.N. Randle shows in an informing paper in the JOR. (XVII.i) that a comparison with Greek metres and the cola of Greek metrics (on which he refers us to the list of typical or common cola in Greek in Miss A.M. Dale's recent book 'Lyric Metres of Greek Drama') is highly useful for such a study of Sanskrit prosody.

In *grammar*, the Madras Government Oriental Mss. Library has given us the first part of Mahābhāṣya and Pradīpa with the hitherto unpublished commentary of the versatile author of the Tarakasaṁgraha. Annam Bhaṭṭa. Prof. Kshtish Chandra Chatterji's Technical Terms and Technique of Sanskrit Grammar, of which part I has appeared (Calcutta), is a valuable work which takes up a very interesting and important subject, and critically and historically studies the technical terms of Sanskrit Grammar by a survey of the Prātiśākhyas, Nirukta, Pāṇini and other non-Pāṇinian systems. Of papers in this branch, may be noted one in the Journal of the G. Jha Institute on the Sphoṭa doctrine by Prof. K.A. Subramania Iyer.

In the field of *Dharma Śāstra*, the revered Chairman of our Reception Committee has brought forth in the midst of the heavy work on his monumental history of the Dharmaśāstra, rendered heavier still by his duties as Vice-Chancellor of the Bombay University, an edition, thorough in his usual manner, of a part of the 14th century digest Madanaratnapradīpa for the Anup Sanskrit Library, Bikaner. Prof. K.V. Rangaswami Aiyangar who has recently made substantial contribution in this branch has published his lectures on Manusmṛti (R. K. Mookerji Lectures, Lucknow University). Marked by the wide sweep and faith in tradition characteristic of the Professor's writings, these lectures on some aspects of the social and political system of Manu, form a vindication of the great text that forms the bed-rock of Hinduism ; an attempt at clearing modern misapprehensions and errors of appreciation, they maintain the '*Eka-vākyatā*' of the Artha and the Dharma Śāstras, and by a review of the basic features of the traditional social and political set-up, validated by the remarkable survival of the Hindu nation, they ask us whether we should not be less positive in our assertions about the virtues of the modern slogans of privileges and equality, which have brought the world, we know, to what brink. Of papers may be mentioned one in the IHQ. (XXV.i.pp.38-51) by Sri. S.C. Banerji, which has dealt with briefly the contribution of some noteworthy Bengal authors to the literature of Smṛtinibandha, Bhavadeva, Jīmūtavāhana, Aniruddha, Ballālasena, Halāyudha, Sūlapāṇi, Srīnātha, Raghunātha, and Govindānanda, mentioning their works, dates and details of personal history.

The *teaching of Sanskrit* is a neglected branch of study, and at the present stage of Sanskrit studies in our country and in view of their future, the subject is of increasing importance. To the meagre work in this field, Prof. D.G. Apte has added a brochure entitled the Teaching of Sanskrit (Padma Publications, Bombay and Baroda), in which he reviews the three methods, the old Pandit method, the Bhandarkar method and the new psychological method, and advocates a judicious combination of the old and new, the deductive and the inductive methods. While advocating the same synthetic method, Prof. G. S. Huparikar of Kolhapur, in a more comprehensive book 'The Problem of Sanskrit Teaching', has after arguing out the importance and need for classical studies along with scientific and modern education, launched upon a rather over-exhaustive examination of the underlying principles of traditional exposition of theses, interpretation of passages, development of thought, and commenting on works as found in the different Śāstras in Sanskrit with a view to point out the fact that Hindu methodology in respect of learning and teaching advanced subjects, embodies commendable features which can compare favourably with those enunciated in modern educational investigations of the West. Though the survey of Śāstraic literature here is too lenghty for the purpose on hand, and the author is, notwithstanding his admission of the defects of the traditional Sastri-type, unduly severe on the modern research scholar, we have here a valuable compilation of a volume of data that forms a substantial addition to Sanskrit pedagogy.

Speaking of the problem of Sanskrit teaching, we are led to the question of the *position of Sanskrit* in the new educational set-up. I might begin by referring to a fine article of Betty Heimann in the last issue of the Annals BORI (XXVIII. iii-iv) in which she points out in a convincing manner why Sanskrit study is necessary : By its antiquity, structure and richness, Sanskrit offers to its Western and Eastern sister and daughter languages a study-model ; retaining its sound-sense unweakened, it is a language whose supra-rational acoustics can hardly be transferred to translations ; and it is not dead, but like Nature, functionally alive. While with the attainment of freedom, we expected that a language in which all that is great and distinctive of the country's culture is imbedded would receive a great fillip, actually we were faced with the irony of Sanskrit getting a cold-shoulder from regional languages. In our own province of Madras, the axe was laid at its very roots by crowding it out of the school curriculum. With an apparent air of knowledge of the educational psychology with special reference to the young, it was repeated from some English authority that the young ought not to be made to study four languages, forgetting the linguistic conditions in this multi-lingual country. Besides vast bilingual areas, conditions of religious and cultural life automatically keep up a constant bilingual imagination, with the mother-tongue on the lips and Sanskrit in the mind ; to the linguistically precocious Indian child, and more so to the South Indian, learning the mother-tongue, the classical language, the national language and the international language is not a burden. When this principle is accepted, it is not difficult to work out the details of the syllabus. Regarding the position of Sanskrit with reference to the national language, time was when many enthusiasts, publicists and educationists were boosting up, verbally though not in any practical manner, the unique claims of Sanskrit. Sanskrit is undoubtedly the ideal but considerations of practical politics have led to the acceptance of Hindi. The agitation in favour of Sanskrit has been fruitful in so far as it has been included in the schedule of permitted languages. Acceptance of Hindi in Devanagari script and of Sanskrit as source is an indirect victory for Sanskrit ; and Hindi advocates who have gained support by emphasising the Sanskritic basis, can hardly rest content with lip-homage to Sanskrit. If Sanskrit should function effectively as a grand reservoir, contributing a common all-India vocabulary and terminology, the language and its literature in all its branches should be adequately cultivated for the correct utilisation of its material and linguistic resources. As the Rāṣṭrabhāṣā has to spread over a large area in the South, only the use of Sanskrit vocabulary, a large amount of which has penetrated the languages of that area too, can give quick results. Even when Hindi is being employed in public affairs as a common language, Sanskrit as a cultural common language in higher and academic spheres of activity cannot be avoided. Whether Sanskrit Universities, which are also much talked about, materialise or not, no educational reconstruction of the country will be considered complete or true to the country if it does not provide for Sanskrit at all stages. An educated Indian will take the name in vain, if he should be devoid of a knowledge of Sanskrit. In his famous article in the Press on the language question, our revered Prime Minister expressed his confirmed opinion that "Sanskrit language and its literature and all that it contains" formed "the greatest treasure that India possesses", "her finest heritage", and that he desired "to promote the study of Sanskrit and to put our scholars to work, to explore and bring to light the buried literature in this language". Though he prefaced this article of his as being written in his capacity as a writer, we are assured in our hearts that, having in him one than whom we cannot find a more sincere and ardent soul, ere long he will give official implementation to these cultural convictions of his. May not the Aśokan emblem and the Ārṣa motto give an assurance to ancient culture and Sanskrit ? May not Sanskrit still look to the illustrious Pandit whose famous ancestors in Kashmir made the greatest contributions to its literature, criticism and philosophy for an uninterrupted period of eight centuries upto the Mohamedan times !

Svasyām antarbhāvya
svākāram kurvatī sarvam |
Bhāratyambudhi-mahatī
samskṛtir api Samskṛtā jayati ||

7. Presidential Address: History (VIII)

By

Dr. A. S. Altekar, M.A., LL.B., D.Litt.

The Ups and Downs in Indian History and Culture: Their Causes and Cures.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

The History section of our Conference comprises of the entire period of Indian history. We have only recently won our freedom after a long period of slavery and I therefore think that it would not be inopportune for me to take a broad and rapid survey of the entire history of our country, with a view to find out the causes that were responsible for the ups and downs in our history on several occasions.

For the time being let us assume that the Aryans were immigrants in India and that they gradually established their political and cultural supremacy in the country. What were the qualities which enabled them to achieve this desideratum ?

Unfortunately we have no reliable and detailed knowledge of the opponents of the Aryans. They were either the Indus valley people or some others much less civilised than them. Such remnants of the Indus Valley civilisation as have been found tend to show that these people were particularly backward in the use of military weapons. Nor do they appear to have utilised the services of the horse or the elephant for warlike purposes. As against this background, the Aryans, though backward in urban civilisation, were more advanced in the science of the warfare. Their mastery in horsemanship and superiority in chariot corps gave them a military superiority comparable to what is given in the modern age by the supremacy in air. To maintain this supremacy, it was necessary to have an efficient and prosperous class of smiths and carpenters in society, and we find that care was taken to keep the prestige and status of these professions very high in the Vedic period. *Rathakāras*, who manufacred the chariots that conferred the military supremacy, constituted a special privileged class in the society ; we can therefore well understand why the Vedic texts should lay down a special season for their Upanayana, as they do for that of the Brāhmaṇas, Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas. On several occasions the Vedic poets compare their skill in poetry to the skill of the smith or the carpenter ; we can hardly imagine a modern poet resorting to such similes even in a communistic society. The Vedic Aryans had realised that their supremacy depended upon the efficiency of their military weapons and the agility of their chariot corps and were taking all steps to ensure it by giving a very high status to smiths and carpenters, on whose efficiency it depended.

Vedic texts reveal that the Aryans were devided into not less than 35 tribes or states, though they were occupying only the Punjab and the N. W. F. P. There was only cultural, religious and linguistic unity among these tribes ; but not political one. Their states were territorially very small units like the city states of ancient Greece, and as the Dāśarājña war shows, some of them would often stoop to seek the help of the non-Aryans to bring about their opponents' downfall.

Overwhelming however was the military supremacy of the Aryans over the non-Aryans, and the latter were driven to seek shelter in the caves of inaccessible mountains at least at the beginning of the struggle,—cf. *Yo dāsaṁ varṇaṁ adharaṁ guhā kaḥ*. It must be however noted that the Aryans did not follow the policy of merciless annihilation for a long time. They realised that a more effective way of permanent success was a cultural and racial integration. We begin to find a number of instances in the later Vedic period of the racial synthesis. The instance of Kavasha Ailusha shows that though a certain amount of disrepute attached to these unions, the children born to them could eventually secure a respectable status in society, if they possessed sufficient merit. Marriages with śūdra women are unreservedly condemned in later Smṛiti literature, but a verse like

शूद्रावेदी पतत्यत्रेरुतथ्यतनयस्य च ।
शौनकस्य सुतोत्पत्या तदपत्यतया भृगोः ॥

shows clearly that they were not regarded as unwelcome in earlier times. Even respectable heroes like Arjuna and Bhīma are seen marrying non-Aryan princesses like Uḍupī and Hiḍimbā.

So military supremacy and racial and cultural synthesis constituted the key to the Aryan success in the earlier and later Vedic periods.

It is very probable that the Aryans entered India in *C.* 2500 B.C. During the next two thousand years they went on gradually progressing, and they eventually succeeded in Aryanising the whole of Northern India and the greater part of the Dekkan by 500 B.C.

One of the most peculiar features of the political life of India during this period is complete freedom from foreign invasions. During no other stretch of 200 years of her history was India ever so remarkably free from foreign attacks. In the country itself, the Aryans encountered very little effective political or military opposition from their opponents. This produced two undesirable consequences. The Aryans, whom we may now well call Indians, did not pay the same attention to maintain their military efficiency as they did in the Vedic period. Caste system had now developed fairly well and it made fighting a concern of the one class, the Kshatriyas, and not of the whole society. The status of the smiths and carpenters, on whose efficiency depended the military supremacy, deteriorated ; they were relegated to the position of the Shudras.

States continued to be small units during this period. It is no doubt true that the Brāhmaṇa literature refers to *Samrāṭs*, *Adhirāṭs* and *Chakravartins*, but the available data do not show that their kingdoms were much bigger than those of ordinary kings or *rājās*. They used to be given these titles, if they happened to succeed in defeating their neighbours and getting a tribute from them for the time being. A unitary big state was unknown to this age.

Hindu intellect during this period continued to be creative. Metaphysics made remarkable progress, as evidenced by Upanishadic, Buddhist and Jain philosophies. Grammar and philology were developed and the literary activity in the legal literature commenced; speculations in the sphere of the political thought were original and fruitful. Astronomy and mathematics, medicine and surgery, mining and metallurgy were assiduously cultivated.

India was invaded by the Achaemenians in 516 B.C. and Alexander the Great in 327 B.C. A certain amount of military deterioration had taken place by now, but it was more than counterbalanced by the intellectual virility and scientific progress that had been made since the Vedic period. The Achaemenian and Greek invasions did not therefore necessitate an all out effort to repulse. We have very little authenticated data about the incidents connected with the Achaemenian invasion. But it is admitted on all hands that Alexander could not remain in India for more than 19 months and that all his garrisons were wiped out in less than ten years time. Not only this, Chandragupta Maurya succeeded in driving back the Greeks beyond the boundaries of Afghanistan and Baluchistan by 306 B.C.

The rise of the Mauryan power and its success in welding practically the whole of India into a mighty empire is a political phenomenon which we have not yet succeeded in understanding fully and properly. There can be no doubt that the success of the Mauryas was primarily due to their great power of organisation and signal success in forging a powerful military machine. But the historian cannot explain as to why this feat could not be repeated by any of their successors.

During the period 200 B.C. to 500 A.D. India suffered from a number of foreign invasions. First came the Bactrian Greeks and they were followed by the Scythians, the Parthians, the Kushāṇas and the Hūṇas. This almost continuous series of foreign invasions no doubt fills us with regret and dismay. But we should not forget to make a due allowance to the peculiar geographical position of Northern India. No other country, as rich and extensive as India, had the misfortune of being situated on the outskirts of a region, inhabited by a number of restless, uncivilised and therefore militarily powerful tribes as India. The British, the Germans, the French or the Americans did no doubt not suffer from so many foreign invasions in any period of seven hundred years of their national history, but they had not the misfortune of having on their outskirts a territory like central Asia, teeming with a number of restless and barbarous tribes.

The Greek invasion under Alexander the Great produced a political and military reaction and the result was the powerful Mauryan empire embracing most of the country. The historian however cannot explain why political unity should not have been produced by the later invasions of the Scythians, Parthians and the Kushāṇas, as it was apparently done by the earlier invasion of Alexander the Great. We can only conjecture. The invasions of most of these invaders did not usually penetrate beyond the Punjab, the rest of India was not much affected by them and did not therefore show any appreciable reaction. The Punjab at this time was studded with a number of republics, the Kambojas, the Madras, the Kuṇindas, the Yaudheyas, the Mālavas and the Kshudrakas. Each one of these republics was a small unit, but some how they could not succeed in forming a big unitary state to present a united front to the invaders. For the same reason the small republics of the Lichchhavis the Videhas, the Sākyas, the Koliyas and the Mallas disappeared before the advance of imperialism under Ajātaśatru and his successors. In ancient India on several occasions powerful states were forged under the leadership of kings, but never under that of the republic. The evolution of a large and unitary state becomes possible only by the integration of a number of smaller units. Integration is not possible without the sacrifice of some amount of independence, even in the modern age when representative institutions have been evolved. In ancient time when representative institutions were unknown, a unitary and integrated state comprising say the whole of the Punjab, would have been possible only if the Kuṇindas and the Trigartas, the Arjunāyanas and the Yaudheyas, the Mālavas and the Kshudrakas were prepared to sacrifice a part of their own independence in favour of a Central mighty state. The republics were naturally so passionately wedded to their own freedom that they did not think it desirable to vote for any such central and unitary state. History shows that on critical occasions, sometimes two republics would form a confederation ; the Lichchhavis and the Videhas formed one such confederation to resist the encroachments of Ajātaśatru, the Kshudrakas and Mālavas formed another to oppose the invasion of Alexander the Great. But these confederations are never known to have consisted of more than two republican states and they lasted for short periods only. The Punjab thus could not present a united front to the Indo-Greeks, the Scythians and the Parthians and the Kushāṇas because its republics could not forge a strong unitary state. In the case of monarchical empires, a central unitary state could be easily forged, because the unity was secured at the point of the sword through annexations. The Punjab suffered most from foreign invasions, but the rest of India did not always run to its help. Though the holy land of the Vedic Rishis, it had ceased to have any attraction for the custodians of the later Vedic culture. There were no holy places in the land of the Five Rivers, which the Hindus of the later age were accustomed to visit. The Karṇaparvan of the *Mahābhārata* shows that the Bāhlikas or the Punjabis were regarded as outlandish, following a number of objectionable customs. Can this be one of the reasons why the rest of northern India did not make it a common cause to clear the land of the Five Rivers from foreign invaders ? It is true that Chandragupta Maurya was an exception, but it is not unlikely that the interest he took in driving out the invaders from the Punjab may be due to the accidental circumstance of his minister Kautilya being a native of North-Western frontier.

Another reason why the invading tribes were not driven out from the land appears to be this. The leaders of these tribes like Maues, Azes, Wima, Kanishka and Toramāṇa were too powerful to be resisted by the local disunited states. Their successors were no doubt weak, but they were not considered as foreigners because they used to accept the religion and culture of the land and became more enthusiastic Hindus or Buddhist than the natives themselves. The Scythian ruler Rudradāman was a greater admirer of Sanskrit than his opponent the Brāhmaṇa Sātavāhana King Puḷumāyi. The latter preferred

Prakrit for official records, while the foreign conqueror was enamoured of Sanskrit and took pride in his capacity to write chaste Sanskrit in classical style[1]. The second Kushāṇa ruler Wima Kadphises bore a foreign name, but he invariably describes himself as a *Paramamāheśvara* on his coins. Toramāṇa's son Mihirakula was no doubt a foreigner in extraction, but he was a staunch Hindu in his religious faith. His coin legend is *Jayatu vṛishadhvajaḥ* and inscriptions describe him as a ruler who had never bowed his head before anybody excepting Sthāṇu or Śiva. So the situation about the foreign invasions was this ; the leaders of these invasions could not be resisted because there was usually no unitary and powerful state in the Punjab to oppose them. Civilised states always find it difficult to successfully resist the impetuous leaders of barbarians' invasion. If the Gupta empire was shaken by the invasions of Hūṇas, we should not forget that the mighty Roman empire also tottered before them.

The small kingdoms in which foreign empires used to dwindle down in less than a generation or two were not much distinguishable from indigenous Hindu states and so usually no effort was made to wipe them out. They were not felt as thorns in the body-politic of the country, for the foreign rulers usually became more enthusiastic patrons and followers of Indian culture and religion than the Indians themselves.

So in spite of foreign invasions India continued to make an all round progress during the period 200 B.C. to 800 A.D. In the sphere of intellectual achievements, her contribution to mathematics and astronomy was as remarkable as that to literature and philosophy. Her Universities became international centres of learning and were resorted to by a number of Tibetan, Chinese, Korean, Japanese and Javanese students. Her doctors were invited by the Arab Khalifas to Bagdad, where they organised hospitals and got Sanskrit medical works translated into Arabic. Her priests and missionaries went to China, Java, Sumatra and Borneo in India-built and India-driven ships to preach Hindu and Buddhist philosophy, and her artists to teach Indian forms and ideals of Fine Arts. The most magnificient products of art were produced in India during this period. Her economic position was sound ; the balance of trade was in her favour and flooded the country with gold enabling the Kushāṇas and Guptas to issue copious gold currency. The cloth produced by her was clothing all countries from Egypt to Japan and offering employment to lakhs of people. India was no doubt the leading nation of Asia during 400-800 A.D. It was partly due to her having a new gospel which her priests and missionaries went out to preach, and partly to her immense intellectual superiority both over Chinese in the East and Arabs in the West. It should not be forgotten here that the intellectual renaissance that took place among the Arabs during the 7th and 8th centuries was largely due to the inspiration that they received from India.

India was unable to maintain this supremacy after about 800 A.D. The even balance that was kept between the four *purushārthas, Dharma, Artha, Kāma* and *Moksha* down to the end of the Gupta period, got seriously tilted after about 800 A.D. Religion became an unending series of rituals and observances to be performed almost on every day of the year. Three baths were prescribed instead of one ; even the Sandhyā prayer, which by its very nature, could not have been intended for more than two times, was enjoined to be performed thrice. Growing orthodoxy of the age disapproved of dissection and condemned the pursuit of agriculture on the ground that ploughing involved killing of insects. Inter-caste marriages and dinners, that were allowed in the earlier age, were frowned out of existence ; conversion of foreigners that was so common, was given up and Hindu priests ceased to visit foreign lands to preach their gospel, as did their ancestors a couple of centuries before. The disappearance of Upanayana among the Kshatriyas and the Vaishyas gave a serious blow to the cultural and general education of warriors and traders and artisans, which reduced their general efficiency. Their education became too much narrow and specialised. Useful arts and professions began to be regarded as plebian and they were boycotted by the higher sections of Brāhmaṇas. As the services of the best intellect of the society were no longer available for the development of arts and crafts, they ceased to make any progress worth the name.

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[1] cf. स्फुटलघुमधुरचित्रकान्तशब्दसमयोदारालंकृतगद्यपद्यकाव्यविधानप्रवीणेन। Junagarh Ins. l. 14.

Liberal education also became narrow. There was too much of specialisation in logic and philosophy, astronomy and mathematics. There was no broad-based secondary course of education ; and as a consequence the logician, the Dharmashastrin and the rhetorician did not possess much knowledge of the problems and achievements of one another. The Indian intellect ceased to be creative, almost in all spheres of knowledge; commentaries and digests have been the order of the day since the 9th century ; original works were few and far between.

The situation became further deteriorated owing to the growing self-conceitedness of the Hindu scholars after the 10th century. A Varāhamihira could pay homage to Greek astronomers in the 7th century ; they may be Mlechchhas, he says, but they deserve to be honoured as *ṛṣis* because of their knowledge of the astronomy. In the 11th century Hindu scholars had no open and enquiring mind ; they would refuse to accept what was not in consonance with the views of the sacred texts. The discoveries of the earlier astronomers could not become popular ; Brahmagupta in his *Brahmasiddhānta* says "Some people think that the eclipse is not caused by the head of Rāhu. This is a foolish idea. The Veda says that the head eclipses, likewise the *Manusmṛiti* and the *Gargasamhitā*. No progress in knowledge was possible under these conditions.

There was thus a general deterioration in Hindu society in several spheres of life when it came into conflict with Islam. Nevertheless it is worth noting that India offered a much longer and more effective resistence to Islamic invaders than was offered elsewhere. Persian empire collapsed within a decade of Mohamad's death ; the whole of Northern Africa was occupied by the Arabs in less than a century. Spain was occupied in 710 and within a century of that event, Southern France, Southern Italy, Cicily and Crete were all occupied by Muslim forces. As compared to this rapid progress elsewhere, the Arabs could hardly make much headway in India. They no doubt annexed Sindh in 712 A.D., but they failed to make any progress further inwards for three centuries. They were repulsed from Kathiawar, Gujarat and Rajputana by the Chalukyas and the Gurjara Pratiharas.

History shows that when Islamic faith was accepted by semi-civilised tribes, the latter used to receive a new energy and vitality which however used to last for only about a couple of centuries. The Arabs ceased to count as a political force by c. 800 A.D. But Islam happened to be accepted by the Turks by this time, and it was they who succeeded in conquering Constantinople and Balkan peninsula. Turks became politically feeble and were reduced to dire distress by the Moguls in the 13th century ; it is however worth noting that the Moguls were not Muslims at this time. Chengis Khan and Hullu Khan had greater inclination towards Buddhism and Christianity than towards Mahomedanism.

The Turks under Mahumad of Ghazni were a mighty power ; but his descendants were merely dragging their existence in the Punjab during 1030—1190 A.D. Unfortunately the Hindus of those days, misled by the earlier examples of the Kushāṇas and the Hūṇas, thought that the new religion and Kingdom would not be a thorn in the body political and cultural of India and so allowed it to lead a precarious existence there.

Another mistake that was committed by Hinduism at this time was to discontinue the old practice of conversion and reconversion. It is from among the converted Hindus that many of the Muslim conquerors were recruited. Malik Kafar, the conqueror of the Deccan, Jalaluddin who gave an impetus to the spread of Islam in Bengal, the founders of the Muslim states of Ahmedabad and Ahmednagar were all converted from the Hindu fold. And so was a recent ancestor of Mahmad Ali Jinah, the architect of Pakistan. It is worth noting that though many of the first converts were quite unwilling to come back to their old religion owing to political ambitions and allurements such was not the case with the vast majority of them. They used to yearn to come back but were refused admission.

Another cause of the success of Islam was the absence of the realisation of the political unity of India and of the necessity to defend it. United efforts to oppose the invaders were but rarely made. The fate of the kings of Northern India did not make their Dekkan contemporaries wiser. Yādava king Siṅghaṇa (1205-1246 A.D.) was a powerful ruler. He did not only not devise a plan of forming a confederation of the Dekkan powers against the Northern enemies, but treacherously attacked the Chalukyas from the rear in 1235, when they had been weakened by a Muslim attack. The first thing that Siṅghaṇa's son Kṛishṇa did after his accession was to attack the Paramaras, because they had been weakened by a recent attack of the Delhi Sultan.

We need not however suppose that the absence of unity was a particularly Hindu weakness. It was quite common among the contemporary Christian and Muslim powers as well. In the 14th century when Turkey was trying to annex the Balkan peninsula, the Christian kings there were as much disunited as the Hindu kings in India. While Bulgaria was facing the Turkish invasion from the south, she was being attacked by her Christian neighbours from the north. The victory of the Turks in the critical battle of Nicoplis fought in 1396 was largely due to the help which George Brucovish, the Christian king of Serbia, gave to the Muslims. In the hope of saving his kingdom this ruler gave his daughter Maria in marriage to Sultan Murad II, just as Ramdeo Rao had married his daughter to Allauddin Khilji. When his Christian neighbours organised a united front against Murad, George refused to join the effort and gave secret information to Murad, just as Ram Deo Rao did against the Kākatīyas. George even fought against the Christian king of Bosnia as an agent of Murad.

In Medieval India the Muslims were also not always able to present a united front. Humayan did no doubt not attack Bahadur Shah, because he was engaged in fighting against the Rana of Chitor. But such cases were exceptions, rather than the rule. The Mughal rulers were as bitter in their fight against the Afghan sultans of Bengal, as they were against the Rajputs of Rajputana. They waged a war of about 100 years in order to destroy the Muslim states of the Deccan. When Avalia Khalillulla rebuked Mahmud Shah I of Malwa for fighting against fellow Muslim States, he had to confess that Muslim rulers found it difficult to follow the injunction not to fight against their coreligionists.

Medieval history thus shows that Christian, Hindu and Muslim rulers were all equally void of territorial or religious patriotism. State was regarded as the private property of the ruler and he tried his best to defend it with such help as he could get. The Nabab of Avadh secured and utilised the help of the Hindu Marathas to overpower the Muslim Rohillas.

It is true that Hindu States lost many battles because of sheer carelessness or stupidity. But these were not peculiarly Hindu failings. How did Shivaji succeed at Pratapagad? How did he escape from Panhala? How were the fingers of Shahistakhan chopped up? Simply because Muslims had became as careless and stupid by this time as the Hindus once were.

The initial defeat of the Hindus was due to the simple fact that they were no match to the new spirit and energy which Islam always infused among semi-civilised tribes. These qualities however lasted only for some time. After a few decades Muslim rulers of India developed the same defects which had brought about the downfall of their Hindu opponents.

History shows that when Hindus became imbued with high idealism, they also became invincible. It was this idealism and spirit of sacrifice generated by it that was responsible for the success of Rana Pratap and of the Marathas. The latter were few in numbers; they had hardly any resources and leaders when they were fighting against Aurangzeb between 1680 and 1707; and still they proved more than a match for the mighty Mogul empire.

What does the above rapid survey of the history of India reveal? It shows that as long as military efficiency, intellectual virility and scientific spirit were well nourished, the country was at the vanguard of progress. The series of foreign invasions from which the country suffered was due partly to India being on the outskirts of Central Asia, which was the home of a number of restless and uncivilised tribes and partly to her not taking these invaders seriously, as they became completely Indianised in a generation or two. India committed the mistake of assuming that the Muslim invaders too will become a part and parcel of the population and accept its common culture. This however did not happen, partly because Hindu culture had ceased to be assimilative by this time and partly because there were too sharp points of contrast between it and the Islamic culture. Modern India is not likely to treat any invasion lightly, as was done by our ancestors in the past, and so the mistake in this connection will not be repeated. It is reassuring to find that our government is trying its best to ensure scientific and technological progress and military efficiency, which are vitally connected with each other.

India was enjoying leadership of Asia during the period 400 to 800 A.D. because of her sound economic condition and her undisputed leadership in the spheres of literature, philosophy and science. Our present economic position is desperate and we do not seem to have found any sure way to improve it. Japan is down for the time being and India probably is the leading nation in Asia in literature, philosophy and science. But we are far behind the western nations in most of these branches and strenuous efforts will have to be made to raise our standards of teaching, to build up national laboratories, military academies and centres of humanistic culture like Indological Institutes, before we can hope to come to the front rank. It is pleasing to note that our new government is taking steps to found most of the above Institutions, though unfortunately the necessity to coordinate and organise humanistic and Indological studies has not yet been recognised. The award of educational scholarships to students from other Asian countries is a step in the right direction. It will gradually secure intellectual leadership to us, if our Universities succeed in raising their standards of teaching and research.

Hindu and Muslim kingdoms of the medieval times had common failings and drawbacks ; it would be wrong to suppose that Hindus have some peculiar defects and Muslims some special excellences or vice versa. Both these communities along with the Christians, Sikhs and Parsis, have to learn to develop common civic virtues, which are indispensable for the successful working of a democratic constitution.

Many of India's misfortunes in the past were due to her being divided into a number of small states generally at war with one another. She could never maintain political unity for a long time. Luckily India has now become an integrated and unified nation as she never was before, and this augurs very well for our political and cultural progress. We should not however forget that in India there is unity in diversity and the political unity that we have achieved will be seriously endangered if the party in power at the centre will try to rule by brutal majority. The Central government will have to show great respect and toleration for the culture, language and traditions of the provinces and states. Then only the political unity will be enduring.

The appeal that Indian philosophy and idealism made to Central and Eastern Asia was another factor that secured to India the leadership of Asia in the past. We have to answer the question whether modern India has any high idealism and philosophy that will attract the ears of her neighbours. The Gandhian gospel has made a certain appeal to the world, but is it a living force with the Indian classes and masses ? Gandhiji's evening prayer is a genuine effort at a synthesis of the living religions of the world. Is it getting popular in the country ? Do our legislatures begin their work after reciting it ? Some sections of the Hindu community are averring that the ideal of ancient Indian culture alone will save humanity. But is any serious effort being made to define these ideals and to spread them among the masses, so that they may be actuated by strenuous and selfless activity for the regeneration of the country ?

India lost her material prosperity and political liberty partly because the ideals of *Dharma* and *Moksha* got the upper hand over those of *Artha* and *Kāma*. We are now in the danger of losing such reputation as we once had for our spiritual idealism by the way in which rising generations are being trained in a purely secular system of education for the last hundred years. If things go on in the present fashion, mechanics will soon stamp out metaphysics from Indian culture.

A survey of Indian History shows that synthesis of races, religions and cultures was the special mission of India. She failed in this mission in the 11th century and got into troubled waters. Our forefathers of the 12th century had not the foresight of their ancestors of the 3rd and 4th centuries. But modern India must try to resume the work that was given up in the 12th century. We must evolve a common culture for the land which should be liked and loved by the Hindus, Christians, Parsis, Muslims. The task is not easy, but well worth attempting. Let us hope that leaders of free India will direct their minds towards it. If we succeed in accomplishing it, we shall be setting a lesson for the rest of the world to follow.

8. Presidential Address : Archaeology (IX)

By Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, M.A., D.Litt., O.B.E.

I am very thankful to the Executive Committee of the All-India Oriental Conference for electing me the President of the Archaeological Section for the 15th session and thus giving me an opportunity of coming into contact with many of my colleagues working in the same field. The President of this Section in his learned address last year traced the importance of archaeology for the study of Indian history. In fact he termed archaeology as the hand-maid of history. Historian as he was his main thesis was that one should make use of archaeology mainly for the study of history. To him the principal duty of the archaeologist was to collect materials for the historian to work on. This year I should like to place before you the views of an archaeologist. Unlike most other countries archaeology in India is still a Central subject and most of the work in archaeology has so far been done by the Department of Archaeology. It is therefore necessary at the outset to have some idea of the background which fostered the study of archaeology in India. It was 87 years ago that the Archaeological Department was first established in India, but even before that an active interest in the study of archaeology had been growing for another 77 years which culminated in the foundation of the Archaeological Department in 1862. In 1783 when Sir William Jones came to Calcutta as a Puisne Judge of the Supreme Court and began to learn Sanskrit, the idea of an institution for the study of oriental literature and culture was first conceived by him. It was due to his personal enthusiasm and great energy that he was able to collect a band of sympathetic scholars and to lay the foundation of the Asiatic Society of Bengal with the object of enquiring into "the history and antiquities, arts, sciences and literatures of Asia". It was from this time onwards that information began to be collected on the ancient monuments and sites of India and a systematic attempt was made for the study of Indian antiquities, inscriptions and coins. But due to lack of sufficient knowledge of the past history of the country, the progress had to be slow and the results far from conclusive. The study of Indian archaeology, however, received a new orientation with the discovery in 1837 by Mr. James Prinsep, the then Secretary of the Society, of the key to the Brāhmī alphabet. Within another few years was also deciphered the second script prevalent in the North-West known among scholars as Kharoshṭhī. The decipherment of these two scripts put archaeology on a sound foundation. But nothing was done so far to encourage any fieldwork. In 1848 Alexander Cunningham as a young officer of the Royal Engineers urged that the Government of India should come forward and help in the preservation of ancient monuments in India by the appointment at Government expense of a suitable officer having a knowledge of the religions and arts of India and its epigraphy and numismatics. Cunningham's appeal had no response for some years, but in 1860 when India had passed under the Crown, Lord Canning, the first Viceroy of India, decided to establish an Archaeological Department of Northern India and appointed Cunningham as the Archaeological Surveyor. Cunningham's duty was only 'to make an accurate description of such remains as most deserve notice, with the history of them so far as it is traceable and a record of the traditions that are retained regarding them'. There was no intention of spending any money on the preservation of these monuments or excavation of any of the numerous ancient sites in the country. This was, however, a short lived post and was abolished by Lord Lawrence after six years. But this decision of the Viceroy led to a great agitation both in India and England and in 1870 Lord Mayo as the Viceroy of India sanctioned a post of the Director General of Archaeological Survey of India to which Cunningham was appointed again. He was also given two Assistants but even now their activities were confined to Northern India and only to the collection of historical and geographical data. The need for an officer for the rest of the British India was, however, soon realised and four years later James Burgess was appointed the Archaeological Surveyor and Reporter to Government for Western and Southern India. These appointments no doubt led to a great advancement in the study of Indian archaeology, but the conservation of ancient monuments or regular excavation did not form a part of their duty. The result was that very little attention was paid to the structural repairs with the obvious consequences, viz., that many of the first-rate national monuments remained in a disgraceful condition due to years of negligence and were fast disintegrating. In 1878 Lord Lytton with his unusual acumen found that the preservation of national works of art could no longer be left exclusively at the mercy of local Governments which were seldom alive to the importance of this duty. It was due to his personal interest in these monuments that the post of a Curator of Ancient Monuments was created in 1881 to which Major H.H. Cole was appointed. Cole was not only to prepare a classified list of ancient monuments of each Province but also to advise Government as to which of them were fit to be kept in permanent good repairs and which were beyond all repairs. But long before his work could be completed, the post was retrenched after a period of three years. In 1885 Alexander Cunningham also retired from service when the Surveys of Northern and Southern India were amalgamated and placed under the sole charge of Dr. Burgess. The whole of India was divided into five Circles and Burgess with the help of his Assistants was to look after the conservation and survey of ancient monuments and sites and also research. It was also the time when the services of Dr. Hultzsch were placed at his disposal as an Epigraphist, mainly for South Indian inscriptions. Burgess retired in 1889 and hardly any work in archaeology was done till the end of the last century, though in 1895 Government of India came to the conclusion that it was advisable to maintain permanently some sort of Survey for the maintenance of monuments. But with the appointment of Lord Curzon as the Viceroy of India in 1901 the whole outlook of Indian archaeology changed. Within a few weeks of his landing he announced his intention to encourage archaeological study in its every aspect. A year later, speaking before the Asiatic Society of Bengal, he elaborated his scheme and the result was the reorganization of the Archaeological Department to be placed under a Director General. John Marshall, a brilliant classical scholar from Cambridge, was appointed to this post in 1902. But even then the conservation of monuments remained the duty of the Provincial P. W. Ds to be carried out through Circle officers and Marshall only acted as an adviser and was in charge of the distribution of a sum of Rs. 1 lakh as a grant-in-aid to different Circles and States towards the preservation of the most important monuments. He was in addition to exercise a general supervision over all works of excavation and conservation and also to advise as to which monuments should be protected under the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act which had already come into force and in which line archaeological research should be conducted. He was thus to co-ordinate the work done in the whole of India and to submit an Annual Report to the Government of India.

This dual control had its disadvantages which were not removed until the inauguration of the reforms of 1919 when archaeology became a Central subject and with the exception of a few monuments which remained in charge of the Provinces, the rest came under the direct control of the Department. This arrangement was continued in the Government of India Act, 1935. It may be mentioned here that it was in Marshall's time alone that regular excavations formed a part of the Survey's work and you are well aware of the flood of light which the numerous excavations undertaken by the Department has thrown on some of the darkest chapters of Indian history. In 1938 the Government of India invited Sir Leonard Woolley to report on the condition of Indian archaeology. He was not satisfied with the method adopted in India for excavations which he considered as archaic and recommended the appointment of an Adviser for a term of years to introduce the latest method of excavations in India as a result of which Dr. Mortimer Wheeler was brought out for a term of four years.

The above summary of the progress of Indian archaeology during the last one hundred years or more would vividly show that archaeology is a progressive science and like every other science must keep on advancing in knowledge. During the last century the trouble taken over archaeological studies would have been considered amply paid for if one could properly identify the sites and monuments and collect some reliable history of them. Scientific excavation was practically unknown and so was the method of conservation. In the latter case, all that was necessary was to make a few drawings, plans and sections of the most important monuments and relegate them to the mercy of the ages, if not to the rapacity of the brick and treasure hunters. A fair knowledge of epigraphy and numismatics in addition to some knowledge of art and architecture was all that was required of an archaeologist. I have been an epigraphist myself and I am in no way belittling the importance of epigraphy and numismatics for the study of Indian history. For this purpose they are as important today as they were a hundred years ago and will remain so for the future. But archaeology is today much more of a science than it was ever before, though not an exact science as yet, and can no longer be regarded as the handmaid of history. The aims of historians and archaeologists are quite different though they may both cover the common ground up to a limited extent. The archaeologists are meant to assist the historians not only by providing them with materials but also in enlarging their field of study. This perhaps needs a little clarification. A historian is concerned only with the so-called historic period of a country or in other words, their task begins with written documents. Thus to a student of Indian history the starting point would be about the 5th century B.C. if not the 3rd century B.C. from which time onwards we possess historical evidence in the shape of a mass of literature, inscriptions, coins and standing monuments. Even then there are numerous lacunae to be filled up before we can reconstruct a continuous chronological history of India. The historian looks to the archaeologist to find out for him fresh evidences to fill up these gaps. In fact, written documents alone are not always sufficient to give a complete picture of the daily life of the ordinary man of the past even of the historical period. It is the archaeologist alone who can help the historian in his study of culture by bringing to light the remains of houses and objects men of the period used for their daily life.

But while the archaeologist is always helping the historian by providing him with fresh materials his scope is far greater than that of a historian. In India, for example, the duty of an archaeologist would not end with unravelling the history and culture of the Epic period or even those of the Vedic Aryans. His field of activity is far wider. In fact it is coeval with the appearance of the man on the earth and he has therefore to go back to scores of thousands of years, a period a historian, however extensive his scope may be, would never dream of reaching. One may, however, ask a pertinent question. Is the science of archaeology so advanced today as to enable us to solve all such problems and is there enough scope for such a study in India ? I must admit that archaeology is a humanistic science and is by no means a perfect science in the same sense as natural sciences are. But already there has been a great advance in its study with the help of exact sciences like Physics, Chemistry, Geology, Zoology and Botany. Chemistry's function in respect of archaeology has in the past been the cleaning and preservation of antiquities and monuments. Now the role of Physics and Chemistry with reference to archaeology is far greater and far more important. A Chemist today is not only helping in the work of conservation of monuments by finding out the causes of their decay and how to check it, but also by a careful analysis of the ingredients to be used, is able to render valuable assistance by suggesting which of them would be best suited for the purpose. He is even doing more. Recently Dr. F. E. Zeuner of the Indian Institute of Archaeology, London, was invited to visit India and help in the dating of the prehistoric sites in India. He has taken a large number of soil samples which when properly analysed are expected to throw fresh light on the environments of the early Man and the climate in which he lived.

Similarly, the help rendered to the study of archaeology by other sciences, such as geology, botany, physical geography, climatology, mineralogy, soil science, etc., today is inconsiderable. They help us in our investigation in determining the age of the site and the antiquities they contain, the climatic changes that the region has passed through during thousands of years in the past and their consequent effect on the growth of vegetation in these regions throwing incidental light on the history of Man and his environment through the ages. I shall give you a couple of instances to show how these sciences have helped us very recently in solving some of our problems and bringing into fore certain facts which were not even guessed before. The importance of geology for prehistory is well-known, but the instances I am giving you are of the periods with which you are quite familiar. You are aware that some years ago a wooden pillar was discovered at Kirari in C. P., which is now preserved in the Nagpur Museum. The inscription on it has already been published in the Epigraphia Indica, but there was doubt whether the pillar was a sacrificial post or an ordinary pillar. It is true that there was nothing in the inscription to indicate that it was a sacrificial post but to be certain I got a piece examined by Dr. Chaudhuri of the Dehra Dun Forest Research Institute, and he identified the wood as Mahua which is found in abundance all over the Province. This examination increased the probability of the pillar not being used for a sacrificial purpose, as the wood used was not of any of the varieties mentioned in the sacred texts as being suitable for a yūpa. The other instance involves a very interesting problem which is yet to be solved. You will remember that during the excavations at Harappa the Archaeological Department came across several pieces of wood. Samples from these were also sent to Dehra Dun, and it was only three days ago when I had a talk with Dr. Chaudhuri, I was surprised to be told that the samples which were sent to him are now grown only in the hills. Most of the samples are of Deodar which, as you know, is grown only in the Himalayas to-day above certain heights. Now the problem is how did Deodar come to be used extensively by the people at Harappa. Only two theories are possible : that the Himalayas were well-known to them and that they got the wood from the hills. The second theory and which is more probable is that the climate of Harappa was not the same four or five thousand years ago as it is to-day and that the local climate encouraged the growth of such hill plants in the neighbourhood. These two instances will show how important the modern sciences are for tackling the problems in connection with archaeology. It is, therefore, essential that we should take the help of such sciences as much as possible in our work. It is also essential that prehistoric archaeology should have a very important place in archaeological studies in India side by side with the study of historic archaeology. It is through archaeology alone that we came to know that there was a highly developed civilization in India 5,000 years ago but hardly anything is known yet of the history of India of the intervening period of two thousand years or more. We know very little of the Vedic Aryans or even of the history of the period of the great Epics, the Ramayana and the Mahabharata. Only archaeology can fill up this gap. For this a planned exploration of the great ancient rivers like the Sarasvati, Ganga and the Narmada and the excavations of carefully selected sites are essential. In the South the problem is not only different but more complicated. The earliest contact with the historic period begins from the 3rd century B.C., but very little is known of the history of South India even of that period. Luckily, there is ample material for the study of prehistoric archaeology not only in the South but in other parts of India as well. In the South we have thousands of megalithic sites of which we know yet very little. We are not even sure of their dates which have been vaguely guessed as ranging from 2nd century B.C. to 1200 A.D. We have to find out who were the people responsible for these monuments, where they came from, how long they survived and how and where did they disappear. We have yet to collect definite data about the extensive palaeolithic industries existing throughout the length and breadth of India and come to a decision about their dates on the basis of stratigraphical evidence. It is hoped that in course of time, by methodical eastward and westward extensions of our explorations, we should be able to supply the missing links between the Indus Valley civilization and the civilization of the so-called historic period. With a bit of luck we may even be able to prove the theory already put forward by some eminent scholars that India was one of the cradles of human civilization. But all this needs not only careful planning but a host of specially trained officers of which there is an absolute dearth in this country at present. The Archaeological Department is making an endeavour to have a Training Section but due to the financial stringency it has not yet been possible to give effect to it. Archaeology has become such a specialised subject today that it is necessary for archaeologists not only to have some knowledge of half a dozen sciences but to have a team work with other scientists who have acquired a specialised knowledge in these sciences.

In conclusion, I would like to say a few words about the place of archaeology in the post-war world. I am afraid it is not commonly understood the tremendous value archaeology may have in the educational planning of the future. Archaeology in its present state can no longer be regarded as a mere pastime for the initiated few. It is already being felt in the western countries that the study of man has been neglected, nay almost ignored up to the present by the educationists all over the world. It is normally lost sight of that to have a complete picture of Man, it is essential to have some knowledge of anthropology and archaeology, as the one tells us of Man's place in nature and the other of the development of the human society in relation to the environments of man. To quote Dr. Clark of the Department of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Cambridge : "Human development in its broad outlines can be made to introduce all the main fields of knowledge, and each can be shown in relation to human needs, thus making a complete whole out of otherwise disconnected specialist studies. From the universe as studied through astronomy the emergence of life and of man studied through the natural sciences, to the social development of man with its study through economics, mathematics, technology, engineering and the higher branches of learning connected with his mind and religion, all can be built up into a coherent whole, with Man as its centre. The history of human race should thus enter into every stage of education".

With all the modern conveniences of communications the world is becoming smaller and smaller every day. With the improvement in aviation one can now go round the world in less than a week. With the introduction of jet planes in due course this period is likely to be shortened even further. If we want to avoid a tragedy and are anxious to have a lasting peace in the world, it is essential now, more than ever, to know how man has made himself and has passed through a succession of cultural history. Such a study alone can bring out vividly the fundamental unity of mankind. It has been claimed by some and perhaps not without reason, that if the various races of the world received some training in the cultural history of mankind in their earlier ages and paid proper attention to their own culture as well as to that of others, they might not have been led astray by crazy dreams of racial superiority and cultural domination which during the World War II brought many of them on the verge of ruin. It is therefore time to take a lesson from the past and see that the study of mankind receives better attention than has been paid to it hitherto. I would, therefore, conclude with the observation of Sir Charles Pears, "Do not look on archaeology as merely digging into the past ; it is a science of how to manage the future. It is a science which shows us what happens under varying situations and man's reaction to those situations. It shows us what man has done to conquer the obstacles in his path, where he has failed and where he has succeeded".

9. Presidential Address: Indian Linguistics (X)

By Dr. Siddheshwar Varma, M.A., D.Litt., Nagpur.

With mingled feelings of gratitude for occupying this chair and of nervousness before the staggering nature of the task before me, I jump to a consideration of the cross-currents of Indian Linguistics during the period 1948-49. Now cross-currents have forward as well as backward movements. Both these movements are distinctly visible during this period. Two outstanding phenomena force our attention to the forward strides which Indian Linguistics has taken during this period. Firstly, we have to welcome the establishment of what may now be definitely called the Katrean School of Indian Linguistics, initiated by Dr. S. M. Katre of Poona. This School has undertaken a chrono-regional approach to Linguistics, with a thoroughness which has few parallels in the history of Linguistics. A Series of stout volumes, prepared by a few enthusiastic disciples of Dr. Katre, eminently bring to light the actual intricacy of phonetic laws, brought about by inter-dialectical borrowing ; thus we learn from Dr. Tagāre's "Historical Grammar of Apabhramsa" that the change of the Sanskrit vowel (") into (a) was not a simple, immediate phenomenon, but during the earlier periods it was (i), which was the ever-increasing modification, then, owing to dialectical contacts, a reverse current started, so that during the later period (a) was the predominant modification. These hard facts give us, for the first time, a peep into linguistic reality. Dr. Mehendale's "Historical Grammar of Inscriptional Prakrits" gives, in exhaustive charts, space-time comparisons for every linguistic phenomenon, each chart having two-fold columns, viz. (1) regional, such as West, N.W., South etc.; (b) chronological, such as 3 B.C., 2 B.C., etc. The treatment of any Skr. sound or sound-group in any Middle-Indian period or area could thus be ascertained at a glance. Indian Linguistics has thus been raised, from the poverty of copy-book maxims, to the grand mansion of space-time perspective. But though this edification of Indian Linguistics was positively a matter of congratulation, there were reasons to apprehend that the Katrean School, by confining itself to the two-dimensional space-time approach, had missed the third element, viz. man, i.e., his culture. But these apprehensions were dispelled by a second phenomenon, which also has happily manifested itself at Poona. It is the linguistic approach strictly adopted by Professor P. K. Gode of Poona, India's greatest living historian of India's culture at the present day. It was a great day when Prof. Gode allied himself with Indian Linguistics. When further generations will actually undertake the preparation of a Real-Lexicon of Indian Languages, they will recognize the debt which they owe to Prof. Gode in this connection. For, while evaluating a Sanskrit word, he is never satisfied unless it finds a correspondence in the living dialects of Indo-Aryan. An example will bear this out. In his paper on "the history of the stirrup in India and foreign horsemanship", he has pointed out that the first Sanskrit work in which the Stirrup has been mentioned is the मानसोल्लास of King Someśvara (A.D. 1130) ; but as pictures of the stirrup have been discovered in an inscription at Mathura about B.C. 100-50 and another in Kulu about A.D. 200-300, it is possible that Indo-Aryan had some word or words for the stirrup even during these earlier periods. But while writing this paper he was anxious to secure an actual testimony of Indian dialects in this connection. So in February last, he wrote to me to send him words for the "stirrup" in all the dialects of India. I was taken aback by his request and for the first time, I felt the depth of the wretched glossarial poverty from which we are suffering. We have no reverse dialectical lexicon which could, at a glance, give the dialectical words for the "stirrup". So I sent a circular letter to this effect addressed to places from Norway to Colombo. The replies reached me in nearly three months. These replies showed that the predominant word for the "stirrup" in all Indian languages approached the Arabic word (rikāb), which has partly appeared even in Dravidian [e.g. Kan-Tel. (rikāb), side by side with (aṅkōle), (aṅkavann) respectively] and Goṇḍī (rikāb). The Sanskrit word mentioned in the मानसोल्लास is पादाधार, for which no dialectical correspondence was available. Monier-Williams gives two words for the stirrup, viz. पादपुटी and पादफला, said to occur in lexicons. Gujarātī (pāvḍo) "stirrup", may perhaps correspond to the former, but even पादपुटी may be a Sanskritisation of a similar dialectical word.

But this is only a typical case. There is hardly a paper of Prof. Gode which has no bearing on Indian Linguistics. For the historical evaluation of Sanskrit words, his papers are invaluable. A few specimens of his work during this period may be mentioned :—

(1) In his "History of the Raṅgvallī art", he has shown that Skr. रंगवल्लि in the sense of "decorating floors with coloured powders" occurs for the first time in वरांगचरित–in the 7th century A.D. This finding has three bearings on Indian Linguistics :—

(a) It gives us a more exact meaning of रंगवल्लि–. Monier Williams, sub-voce, renders it "a kind of plant used at sacrifices".

(b) He has corroborated it with its parallel occurrence in Marāṭhī रांगोळी "coloured powder".

(c) His etymological correspondence रंगवल्लि–: Marāṭhī रांगोळी corrects Kulkarni's derivation of रांगोळीं from Skr. रंग + आवलि– (Kulkarni : Marāṭhī व्युत्पत्ति कोष sub-voce).

(2) In his paper "mosquito-net in Egypt and mosquito-curtain in India", he has possibly discovered the Sanskrit word for *chick*, viz. काण्डपट,–which has been explained as अधोलम्बि– "hanging down" by Mallinātha.

(3) In the same paper he has possibly discovered the Sanskrit word for "glass-cup", viz. काचचषक–, occurring in King Bhoja's युक्तिकल्पतरु– (A.D. 1050). Monier Williams has no entry for काचचषक–, it has only for काचभाजन–, a glass-vessel of any kind.

(4) Sanskrit अम्बर– has been rendered "perfume" by Monier Williams, said to occur in Lexicons (cf. sub-voce), but Prof. Gode, in his communication to me dated the 27th December last, writes : "for the first time I have traced a reference in a Sanskrit source to the origin of अम्बर– from a नक्र or a shark"

समुद्रतीरेऽग्निनक्रस्य जरायु :· · · ·अम्बर इति प्रसिद्ध :)

It may also be added that Prof. Gode is tenaciously keeping up his alliance with Linguistics, so that I hear from him generally twice a week. We have a little lexicographical study-circle at Nagpur, in which his communications are discussed, and for months there has been a recurring exchange of views with him on Sanskrit or Indo-Aryan words for tin, carrot, tattooing etc.

I now come to the backward movement of the cross-currents. In spite of the dazzling forward achievements of the Poona School, the future of Indian Linguistics in the country as a whole is very gloomy indeed. Even our few trained linguisticians are, one by one, either deserting or becoming comparatively indifferent to the cause. And none of them is to blame, for there is no linguistic atmosphere in the country. The average educated Indian is unaware of the existence of this subject and what makes the situation most appalling is the fact that in our schools and colleges, text-books prescribed by Universities, are being taught, which would kill all interest for a linguistic outlook and would degrade all language-learning into mere cram. For instance, modern phonetics takes the phenomenon of Sandhi as axiomatic, occurring universally in all human speech, all isolated sounds, when in concatenation, being always modified in length, pitch or stress. And historians of language unanimously concur that this universal phenomenon was discovered for the first time by our ancestors, and the word Sandhi is now being used as a technical term in all leading European grammatical works in English, French or German, even pertaining to Greek or Latin. And what a tragedy, that in such a country, the discoverer of Sandhi, authorized books are being taught, which definitely state that Sandhi concerns only Sanskrit, and not the language concerned ! A few examples may be given here as follows :—

(1) "हिन्दी व्याकरण" by कामताप्रसाद गुरू published by नागरी प्रचारणी सभा S. 1948, is the premier Hindi Grammar in India studied by thousands of students every year in all parts of the country. Here is its pronouncement on Sandhi :—

"The phenomenon of Sandhi is connected with Sanskrit. Sandhi is required in the Sanskrit language in word-building, in compounds, and in sentences, but in Hindi it is required in connection with only those compound words of Sanskrit, which have been formed according to the rules of Sandhi".

(सन्धि का विषय संस्कृत व्याकरण से सम्बन्ध रखता है । संस्कृत भाषा में पदसिद्धि समास और वाक्यों में सन्धि का प्रयोजन पडता है, परन्तु हिन्दी में सन्धि के नियमों से मिले हुये संस्कृत के जो सामासिक शद्ब आनें है, केवल उन्हीं के सम्बन्ध से इस विषय के निरूपण की आवश्यकता होतीं है – पृष्ठ ५१–५२).

(2) Marāṭhī text-books also tell the same tale. A few examples will suffice :—

(a) The प्रौढबोध व्याकरण by R. B. Joshi, 1925.

"These Sandhis occur in Sanskrit words. In Marathi words they occur most rarely" (p. 9).

(हे सन्धि संस्कृत शब्दांत होतात। मराठी शब्दांत अगदीं क्वचित होतात)

"Some Sandhis have been made in pure Marāṭhī words by the application of suffixes etc. just as " :—

घर+ई धरीं "(to) the house". (p. 11)

(शुद्ध मराठी शद्वांत प्रत्यय वगैरे लागतांना कित्येक सन्धि होत असतात, ते असेः— घर+ईः घरीं)

So this author recognizes Sandhi only as a historical phenomenon in Marāṭhī, i.e., a phenomenon which occurred in the past, but does not occur at present.

(b) M. S. Mone's Marāṭhī Grammar, Hingne, Poona.

"Sandhi occurs in those word-formations, constructed by the application of case-terminations, suffixes etc. or in sentences when (those words or) particles come together, only in Sanskrit ; such a (phenomenon) does not occur in Marāṭhī, i.e., in this sense Sandhi does not exist in Marāṭhī (p. 24).

(विभक्ति प्रत्यय वगैरे लागून तयार झालेलीं शद्वाचीं रूपें अव्ययें वाक्यांत शेजारी शेजारी आलीं असतां त्यांचाही संस्कृतांत संधि होतो तसा मराठींत होत नाहीं म्हणून त्या अर्थानेही मराठींत संधि नाहींतच).

(c) In Damle's scholarly "शास्त्रीय मराठीं" व्याकरण 2nd Edition, 1925, p. 65, we read :—

"In Marāṭhī Sandhi generally does not occur between two words coming in contact in immediate succession during the course of a sentence".

(वाक्यांत येणाऱ्या लागोपाठच्या दोन शद्वांमध्यें मराठींत प्रायः संधि होत नाहीं).

Heaven knows how much similar havoc has been created in text-books concerning other Indo-Aryan languages. Further investigation will perhaps tell the same tale.

It is needless to add that without a phonetic outlook, it is hopeless to acquire a rational knowledge of any language, or to create an atmosphere for Linguistics. The whole future of Linguistics in the country is bound up with this phonetic outlook, without which the backward movement of the cross-currents will be an ever-increasing drag on the subject.

With these introductory remarks on "cross-currents", I now proceed to offer a conspectus of the present trends of investigation in Indian Linguistics, with special reference to its phonetic, semantic and regional aspects :—

I. In the field of phonetics, it is interesting to note an increasing interest for the nature of accent. The ball was set rolling by Dr. Tagāre in his remarkable article in Marāṭhī on "Stress-accent in Marāṭhī"—(मराठींतील स्वराघात published in the महाराष्ट्र साहित्य पत्रिका for April-June 1948. In many respects it is a masterly article, of most informative value, giving a synthetic and complete conspectus of the Indo-Aryan accent from the very first article on the nature of the Vedic accent by Böhtlingk about the middle of the 19th century, and summarizing all the hitherto-propounded theories on the nature and history of the Indo-Aryan accent. If translated into English, this article would be of immense help to many research students. But concerning the nature of Marāṭhī accent, the author's opinion is rather categorical, neither taking into account nor anticipating the objections by several modern phoneticians. In his opinion, even the question of stress-accent in Marāṭhī cannot arise (वस्तुत: मराठींत स्वराघात आहे कीं नाहीं हा प्रश्नच उद्भवत नाहीं) p. 23. In his opinion it is evident to any intelligent listener of Marāṭhī. Dr. Tagāre was followed by B. K. Modak's article on the same subject in the same journal. He had tremendously elaborated the subject, giving an enormous number of sub-divisions of the stress concerned. In his opinion "Marāṭhī stress before a consonant-group is familiar to all Marāṭhī speakers".

(जोडाक्षरापूर्वी उच्चारणांत होणारा एक प्रकारचा खटका किंवा उद्घात आपणांस परिचित आहे).

In this connection I wrote to a distinguished authority on Indian music, Prof. G. H. Ranade of Poona. In his letter (received on the 16th August last) he wrote : "The true name of Poona is (Pune) and the syllable (ṇe) has a stress." Similarly "Regarding the word पुष्कळ (abundant) (pu) is stressed, but does not receive the pitch-accent".

Now such opinions would be startling to many observers, who, like Bloch, have declared that they have never heard stress in the languages of India. The crux of the whole question is the definition of stress. Now stress is defined by Webster, sub-voce, as "force of utterance given to a speech-sound". No doubt, in all connected speech, some sounds are louder than other sounds, but a loud sound is not necessarily a stressed sound. The difference between the nature of stress, pitch and loudness can be very well realized by examining the English word "Really ?" in questions. This word has two syllables : the first syllable (rea) has a stress, being spoken with a muscular force, the second one (ly) has a pitch. Though (rea), spoken with greater breath-force, has a stress, yet it is not so loud as (ly), which has a pitch. The loudness could be measured comparatively by hearing these syllables from various distances. As regards the stress-accent in the Marāṭhī words पुष्कळ and पुणें I have tested several Marāṭhī speakers, their pronunciation of these words shows no trace of "force" in the syllables (पु) and (णें) respectively.

In this connection, I wrote to Prof. Daniel Jones of London for opinion. In his reply dated the 9th March last, he wrote : "As to stress in languages of India, I have always had the impression that Indian languages (with the possible exception of Bengali) were stressless, i.e., that no syllables are pronounced with greater force or greater muscular tension than others. There would seem to be differences of prominence sometimes, and these are probably due mainly to lengths. . . . . . The stresslessness of Indian languages is made very apparent by the way in which so many Indians pronounce English—either without stresses at all, or with stresses (or apparent stresses) continually in wrong places. Professor Chatterji once told me that there are certain words in Bengali which require stress on particular words, e.g., jothāsāddho 'as far as possible' in the Bengali version of the north wind and the sun. But apart from these special words, I think Bengali must be as stressless as the other languages of India. Prof. Firth has or had a theory that there was some stress in Urdu, but I have not noticed it myself, and I do not know any details of his theory."

The above discussions indicate that the question of stress-accent in Indian languages may still be taken as an open question. In a recent communication on the subject, Prof. C. R. Sankaran of Poona tells me that he hopes to test this item through the Oscillograph in the Deccan College Phonetics Laboratory. Let us hope it will take us a little further.

Another item in connection with accent is the peculiar intonation of Kannada. The same expert in music, Prof. G. H. Ranade, in his work "From Speech to the Classical Stage" (pp. 40-41), thus speaks of the Kannada intonation :—"The Kannada language, in which hard consonants occur on a very large scale, abounds in cadences. Thus, in every day conversation in that language a sing-song—better a semi-musical tone—asserts itself prominently at the closing of a sentence". On reading this, I wrote to Prof. Ranade, inquiring from him about the authority on the basis of which this opinion of Kannada accent had been formed". He replied : "Allow me to say that it is I myself who have found it to be so, after having lived long enough in Karnatak, and taken every opportunity of studying its characteristics." Here is a new perspective for linguistic researchers, who may one day be able to discover the detailed laws of this peculiar intonation.

How far certain grammatical categories in one's mother-tongue may effect the pronunciation or intonation of a foreign language has been aptly illustrated by the Tamilian's adding (ā) to an English sentence to turn it into a question or (ē) to give some English word an emphasis. The (ā) here is Tamil (ā), which is an interrogative particle added to any word in order to turn it into a question, e.g., Tamil—(marumā) "is this a tree" ?, while the Tamil particle (ē) is added to any word to give it emphasis (Peterson : *Adyar Library Bulletin*, December 1948, p. 212). In fact the fundamental trends of a language are sometimes best betrayed when the speaker speaks a foreign language.

Closely related to accent is Rhythm, and with the increasing investigation of folk-songs, the rhythm of folk-poetry is beginning to be investigated. Thus in her हिन्दीलोकगीत, Shrimati Rāmkiśorī Shrīvāstav (Prayāg 1946) states that not metre, but tune, constitutes the dominating rhythm of Hindi folk-songs. The singers manage to adapt any syllable of their songs to the peculiar tune happened to be sung by them. (इन मैं छन्दों के स्थान में लय ही प्रधान है.... गाते समय स्त्रियां या पुरुष स्वयं शद्बों को घटा बढ़ा कर लय के अनुकूल कर देते हैं).

While this indicates the comparative freedom of rhythm in folk-songs, it does not necessarily imply that the basic poem sung had no fixed metre of its own. This is corroborated by the recitation of Ḍiṅgal poetry in Rājasthānı, as described by Prof. N. D. Swami in his article "the system of Ḍiṅgal songs" (डिंगल गीतों की सारिणी) in the राजस्थान भारती for March 1948. In Rājasthān there was a fixed mode of reciting every poem, and the reciters so ably followed this mode on the field of battle, that the warriors, listening to these poems, offered their lives cheerfully. Some of these reciters are still extant, says the author.

In this connection, it is interesting to note that Dr. Sukumar Sen has discovered the basic metre of the characteristic Bengali metre "Payāra" in the predominant metre of Old Bengali songs, published by him in Old Bengali Texts (Indian Linguistics, Vol. X, 1948.)

As regards speech-sounds, Prof. C. R. Sankaran is developing his Alpha-phoneme theory which discards the arbitrary distinction between the vowel and the consonant. In fact the presence of so many glide-sounds ("āyatam") in human speech is exposing the hollowness of this arbitrary hypothesis, though as a working hypothesis it may be all right. Prof. Sankaran's theory is based on purely mathematical grounds. This alliance of mathematics with Phonetics is a welcome indication of our further progress in Linguistics.

In connection with speech-sounds, Prof. Firth in his article "Word palatograms and articulation" (BSoS Vol. 12, Parts 2-3, p. 859) makes a revolutionary remark that ṭ, initial ḍ and ḍḍ cannot be regarded as having retroflex articulation in Northern Indian languages. His reasons are the more forward position of the tongue as indicated by the palatograms. But the more forward position of the tongue cannot be the decisive factor of this conclusion if two further considerations are not taken into account, viz. (1) the curbing back of the tongue (2) the acoustic impression of a retroflex consonant. No doubt the "retroflexion" of consonant as pronounced by a Deccanese sounds definitely stronger to the speaker of Northern languages, nevertheless his own corresponding consonant is certainly retroflex owing to the curling back of the tongue and the acoustic impression of a definite "retroflexion." Cf. Dr. S. K. Chatterji : "The Bengali ड is of the same (i.e. retroflex) class, but it is pronounced at a lower position, approaching the alveolar region" (Origin and development of Bengali language, p. XXIX).

We may now consider some notable items in connection with historical phonetics, formerly called phonology, a term which is now being shifted to another branch of Linguistics.

(a) Prof. Turner, in his article Panjabi (pabb), Avestic (frabda-) (BSoS Vol. 12, Parts 2-3, pp. 642-3) discusses the treatment of Skr. p + d > bb in Panjabi. The Panjabi sound expected was (dd), cf. (sabda-,) Panjabi (sadd), but in Panj. (pabb) "forepart of the foot* (prabda-), the (bb) is due to metathesis of (bd). He illustrates similar metathesis in Panj. (pabban) "lotus (padmini). Only further research could show the extent of this tendency to such metathesis.

(b) Prof. H. W. Bailey in his article "Chandra and Caṇḍa" (JRAS 1949, p. 2) states (dr) to be a modification of Skr. ड in Khotanese. In three Khotanese MSS he finds the variants (Caṃdra) and (Caṇḍa). This correspondence is interesting, as it is corroborated by Lahndi (candrā) "wretched" a term of abuse, corresponding to Skr. (caṇḍa-).

(c) Pt. Krishna Deva Upādhyāya in his भोजपुरी ग्रामगीत, Vol. II (1948), p. 433, gives some examples of phonetic extension in Behari folk-songs, e.g. पिअरिया being extension of पियरी "yellow garment", अटरिया, being extension of अटारी "mansion". But whether these extensions are strictly phonetic, or due to exigencies of metre, only further investigation could show.

In this connection, Dr. Sukumar Sen in his letter dated the 4th August last, communicates to me this happy news : "I have just completed the phonology and accidence part of my projected comparative Grammar of middle Indo-Aryan. I hope to make the work ready for publication in a couple of months".

Coming now to the formal aspects of Phonetics, viz. Epigraphy, the following items may be of some interest :—

(a) Prof. J. C. Tavadia in his "Indo-Iranian Studies" (Viśva-Bhāratī quarterly Aug.-Oct. 1948), p. 124, states that Avestan Orthography, as compared to the language of the Old Persian inscriptions, is not to be considered genuine, but should be changed on sound philological grounds. For instance, the Vedic (*dasyu-*) should be compared, not with the orthographic Avestan (*dinhu-*) and (*dakhyu-*), but with the genuine word (*dahyu-*). The suggestion, continues Prof. Tavadia, that the original meaning was "enemy" is not convincing, for in such a case the phrase aryanam dahyunam "of the countries (or peoples) of the Aryans" would be very strange in the mouths of Avestic adorers. The word meant "people" or "country" without any bad connotation originally. If (dasyu-) originally had a good meaning, then it could be philologically connected, not with (dāsa-), but with dasma-, dasrā- "accomplishing wonderful deeds", the verb being दंस्, which the Dhātupāṭha includes among भासार्था: "to shine".

(b) Dr. Mahdihassan, in his paper on "The Indian origin of Arabic Script" tries to show that the Arabs, being first inspired by the sight of the Indian numerals, derived the Arabic (Σ) from the Devanāgarī element उ of the letter अ. The alif (1) was the vertical stroke on the right of long आ. But his use of the term Devanāgarī in this connection is chronologically baseless, for the oldest MS of Devanāgarī originates in the 10th century !

(c) Dr. Raghuvīra, in one of his circulars (No. 21) points out that Devanāgarī and allied scripts are not syllabic, in the same way as the Chinese on the one hand and the cuneiform on the other are. Here every element of a syllable is clearly and separately provided for (especially in the transcription of Sanskrit, where an expression like सिद्धयुपास्य: can be separately put स् इ द् ध् इ– at will) whenever necessary. The Devanāgarī script thus may be called covocalic instead of syllabic.

(d) Tremendous changes in the Devanāgarī are being proposed from many quarters. The number and forms of the changes suggested are often most bewildering. This situation has become particularly baffling owing to the conflict of three-fold interests, viz. the printer's, the reader's and the writer's. Every one of these naturally would have his interests first. Two papers in this connection may be mentioned :—

(dl) 'प्रति संस्कृत देवनागरी लिपि "a reformed Devanāgarī script" in the नागरी प्रचारिणी पत्रिका for वैशाख–आषाढ S. 2005 pp. 50 ff. The author recommends a modification of the Devanāgarī script to suit the requirements of the Lino-type. His suggestions have been accepted by a Printing expert, Mr. King of the Lino-type and Machinery Ltd., Calcutta. But it has still to be demonstrated how far his suggested modifications would meet the requirements of the reader and the writer of Devanāgarī. To the former, the majority of the letters are illegible, to the latter, the structure of the script does not allow cursive writing.

(d2) साधारण नागरी, a leaflet issued by Prof. S. K. Toshakhani of Srinagar (Kashmir) in April, 1949. In this leaflet the author recommends the separation of vowels from consonants in the Devanāgarī script. I wrote to him, objecting that the combination of vowels with consonants was a useful time-saving heritage for the modern writer of the script and that such a separation would be disastrous from the view-point of the writer, though it may be a fortune for the printer. The author, in his reply dated the 22nd May last says : "I wish I had a copy of Dr. Gurtu's script to show you the havoc he has wrought with the script. That is why I put the question, that if it be permissible to change the very shapes of Nāgarī letters, why not adopt the Roman script straightway ? It is in this context that my attempt has to be understood". Now in view of all these conflicts, I do not know if a joint conference of printers, readers and writers, after fully and frankly discussing one another's view-point, could arrive at a united and definite decision.

II. Coming now to the second great aspect of Linguistics, viz. Semantics, considerable attention has been devoted to what Saussure calls the "Synchronic" side of Semantics, i.e., the universal phenomena of meaning, irrespective of time and space. In this connection, Dr. K. Krishnamoorthy's article "Ānandavardhana's defence of *dhvani*" (Journal of the Ganga Nath Jha Research Institute, May, 1948, p. 187) may be mentioned. In the case of euphemistic or ironical language, the literal meaning of which is impossible to take, the factor which determines a particular sense was set up as suggestion "dhvani" by Ānandavardhana. His opponents objected that the meaning of such contents could be the product of "inference". Ānandavardhana replied, as Dr. Krishnamoorthy's illuminating exposition explains, that under inference there should be no scope at all for doubt whether a meaning is right or wrong. For instance, when fire is inferred from smoke, fire is a certainty. But with reference to meanings of words there is no such certainty. Hence suggestion cannot be taken as being merely inferential. It should be taken as an independent category, being a factor of meaning.

In the field of applied Semantics, however, many new perspectives have been opened, e.g., :—

(a) The Gilgit Sanskrit MSS can offer a tremendous source of Sanskrit idioms, some of which could possibly be connected with those current in the living dialects at the present day. I had the opportunity to collect hundreds of such idioms during this year, a few of which may be noted here as examples :—

Having taken pity अनुकम्पामादाय (Vol. II, p.115) (exactly corresponding to English).

I feel home-sick मातापितृवियोगजं मे दुखं बाधते (Vol. III, part 1, p. 158)..

You are talking rigmarole यद्वा तद्वा प्रलपसि (Vol. III, part 3, p. 23).

Have some sense स्वचित्तं प्रतिलभस्व (ib.); he began to feel at home with them तै: सह विश्वस्तसंवास: संवृत्त: (Vol. III, part 1, p. 6); he married her with great *eclat* तेन महता श्रीसमुदयेन परिणीता (Vol. III, part 2, p. 13); take breakfast with me मम पूर्वान्हिका कर्तव्या (ib. p. 144).

Only further investigation can show how far the basic ideas of these idioms have been continued during the living dialects of modern times.

In connection with Hindi idiom, Shrimati Rāmkisorī complains in her book हिन्दी लोकगीत (p. 102) of the enfeeblement of standard Hindi in idiom and expressiveness owing to detachment from dialects. Hindi, she says, could be revived by infusion of dialectical material. Thus standard Hindi has accepted भोंपा for "motor-horn" from dialects (p. 102).

(b) In the field of stylistics, unusual imagery has been revealed by the folk-songs collected by Shri Devendra Satyārthi, in his charming book घरती गाती है "the earth is singing" (Dec. 1948). The following specimens may be noted :—The earth was made the bridegroom's stool in the marriage ceremony घरती ना कीधा बाजौंरु रे– (Gujarāti folk-song p. 101). O lofty hills, lower yourselves ! ऊंचि डाडयू तुम नींसि जावा (Garhwali song, p. 162).

(c) As regards applied dialectical Semantics, it is interesting to note that even those not technically connected with linguistics are beginning to collect dialectical material. Thus Shri Agarchand Nāhaṭā, a leading literary researcher of Rājasthān, has published in the राजस्थान भारती for March 1919, under the little सुनारां की पारसी "the trade-jargon of goldsmiths", a list of words occurring in two 19th century MSS relating to the language used by goldsmiths among themselves. Thus we have :—सोरेन for सोनार "goldsmiths", सीऊं for सोनु "gold, आवणकी for मोहुर "mohur". Shri Nāhaṭā suggests that this was a confidential language used by goldsmiths in order to keep among themselves their trade secrets. But this statement should be accepted with caution. For sometimes these dialects are erroneously supposed to be artificial fabrications, though actually they may be genuine, living dialects. I had a personal experience of this during my third linguistic expedition to the Himalayas in 1940, during which, in a small town situated in the heart of the Kashmir Valley, I discovered 9 dialects, which the Kashmiri people called "confidential languages" or (phirikath). Literally "round-about talks". But to my amazement, I found one of the dialects, named "shop-keeper's dialect" to be the relic of some Dravidian language, or a language related to Dravidian, for in this dialect the word for hundred is (nūr), the word for the personal pronoun "I" is (nāp), presumably related to Tamil (nān), Maḷayāḷam (ñāṉ) "I".

The enthusiasm of Rājasthān for dialectical collections has gone much further. The Sadul Rājasthān Research Institute has been preparing a Lexicon of Rājasthāni for the last three years. About a lac of Rājasthāni words have been already collected, as I learn from Shrí Nāhaṭā's letter dated the 31st August, last.

Folk-songs, recent publications of which have been already noted above, are another source which is enriching our knowledge of the semantic shades and variations in our dialects. Thus we learn from भोजपुरी ग्रामगीत that the word for "spontaneous bending" in Bhojpurī is ओलरना, but bending brought about by somebody's effort is झुकना (p. 441). From the same work we learn of an interesting semantic change in Bhojpurī. The author cites Bhojpurī (sādh) "desire", which he correctly derives from Sanskrit श्रद्धा, which has an exact correspondence in Lahndi (sahddar) "longing" (p. 438).

Lexicography is another field in connection with applied Semantics, in which there has been notable activity during this period. Though many of the works undertaken, to be detailed below, have a very valuable bearing on Linguistics, none of them can be of direct and immediate use to us. The first need of the linguistic researcher in India is a reverse dialectical Dictionary of Indian languages.

I have already mentioned my difficulties in collecting dialectical words for "stirrup". After 3 months' correspondence I could get words only in 22 out of the 750 dialects of India. Times are gone when Grierson's one hundred and odd words in a reverse Lexicon could do. The recent alliances of Linguistics with cultural history in India, as pointed out above, necessitates an early preparation of such a comprehensive work. But even this undertaking will be far from being adequate. As I wrote to an old pupil of mine 2 months ago "you have first to prepare a dictionary of the consonant-group (kṣ) in Sanskrit, before you are able to evaluate its treatment in your dialect". We require dictionaries of even isolated, phonetic phenomena in the first instance, before we are able to soar to the higher requirements of culture etc. Our standards of Linguistics are now so staggering, that we feel like pigmies in view of the resources which we actually possess.

As regards the lexicographical works actually undertaken, the grandest of them, of course, is a "Dictionary of Sanskrit on historical principles." The laurels of actualizing this undertaking must go to the initiative of Dr. S. M. Katre of Poona. The exigencies of time prohibit me from entering into any detailed comments on such a gigantic undertaking. I shall here content myself with pointing out the dire necessity of carefully studying all the Sanskrit commentaries, published or unpublished, if we really intend to collect a substantial crop of vocables. The Dictionaries hitherto prepared mainly relied on metrical works, taking the line of least resistance, but achieving little quantitatively.

Next to this great undertaking, comes the lexicographical effort, in all parts of the country, for the supply of terminological material based on Sanskrit. Date—Karve's शास्त्रीय परिभाषा कोष (1948) is a tremendous effort in this direction, collecting a considerable material from the past lexicographical works in this connection. Dr. Raghuvira's "Elementary English and Indian Dictionary of Scientific terms" (June 1948) and अर्थशास्त्र शद्व कोष "Dictionary of Economic terms" (1949) are characterized by a careful solicitude for coining terms to convey exact denotations : for "genus" he has प्रजाति, for "species" जाति, but for "sub-species" अनुजाति. The prefix प्र, as in Skr. प्रपितामह has been used for denoting the more original concept, while अनु, signifying subordination, has been used for denoting the secondary concept sub-species.

But when we compare even our best Dictionaries of modern Indian languages, with those of the West, one feels that we have not yet even conceived of the definitional stage of Lexicography. For example, take the rendering of the English word "grind" in Webster sub-voce, where it is rendered as "to reduce to powder, by friction, in a mill, or with the teeth." Now compare the rendering of the corresponding Marāthī word पिसणें in Date-Karve's महाराष्ट्र शद्व कोष sub-voce : "दळणें, चूर्ण करणें, घोटणें. One can easily see how far these renderings are from the definition of पिसणें. Patanjali had noticed the absurdity of rendering words by merely synonymous words-: thus commenting on भूवादयो धातव: (Pāṇ 1.3.1), he starts with a question :—क्रिया का ? ईहा। Then ईहा का? is further replied to by another synonyms. Then Patanjali thus reprimands the interpreters by synonyms "you explain words only by words ; such a क्रिया does not give any sense" (सर्वथा भवांश्छब्देनैव शद्वानाचष्टे, न किंचिदर्थजातं निर्दिशत्येवंजातीयका क्रिया).

In connection with Lexicography, a few thought-provoking etymologies, advanced during the period, may be of some interest :—

(1) The word (pakhtūn), usually called Pashto, being the language of the Paṭhāns, is derived from the Rgvedic word (pakhtan) by Dr. V. S. Aggrawal (राजस्थान भारती for March 1919, p. 12). In fact पक्था pl. occurs as the name of a people in the Ṛgveda (Monier-William sub-voce). But it remains to be demonstrated how far these names can be actually identified.

(2) The Hindustani word (camcā) "spoon," says Dr. Mahadihassan in his paper "Cultural words of Chinese origin," is, according to Giles, derived from Chinese (cham-ch ih) "dipper-spoon." It was borrowed by Persians, who traded with China, and was then passed on to Hindustani.

(3) The Hindustani word (cilmacī) "basin for washing hands," continues Dr. Mahadihassan in the same paper, is originally a Chinese word, being (Hsi - la - po ch'i) (Hsi) = tin, la = pewter, po = dish ; then through Turkish (silapchi) it was passed on to Hindustani, assuming the form of (cilamci).

(4) The marvellous interest for Etymology, increasing even among those not technically connected with Linguistics, is indicated by an article on the etymology of डिङ्गल (in राजस्थान भारती for 1949) by Udaya Rāj Ujjavala. He first gives an exhaustive history of the etymology of the word डिङ्गल fully describing and examining five different views. He particularly combats the view that डिङ्गल was originally only the language of the Rajput bards and in support of his opinion, quotes the huge work वंशभास्कर, in which डिङ्गल and the language of Rajputana have been identified. His own Etymology of डिङ्गल from डग "The wing of a bird" has, however, been inadequately demonstrated.

III. I now came to the third great aspect of Linguistics, viz. Regional, taking it in a wider sense, so as to include the various linguistic families in the country, and their cultural relation-ships.

(1) We have so far been hearing about the antipodal views about the Devas entertained by ancient Iranians and Indo-Aryans. But Dr. Unvala in his article on "Political and Cultural relations between Iran and India ABORI Vol. 28, 1947, p. 172) points out that in the earlier portions of the Avesta (devasas) daevaongho) means "the shining ones ; gods", and not the demons.

(2) Dr. R. B. Pandey, in his article, "The Puranic Data on the original home of the Indo-Aryans" (Indian Historical Quarterly, June 1948, pp. 94-103) says that the original home of the Indo-Aryans, whom the Purāṇas called (Ailas), was Madhyadeśa. From this, their original home, the Indo-Aryans started towards the North-West and colonized Western Asia. The crucial fact to be noted in this connection, says the author, is that the rivers in the Ṛgveda X-75-4-6 (इमं मे गंगे यमुने etc.) are enumerated from the east to the west, indicating the direction of the Aryan expansion. This is a novel perspective in connection with the subject, but one may ask two questions concerning it :—

(a) What is the evidence for the identity of (Ailas) with Indo-Aryans in the Purāṇas ? Monier Williams, referring to the MBh. renders this name as the "descendants or family of Purūrvas". If Pargiter, whom the author admittedly follows, understood the name in the sense of Indo-Aryans, what were his reasons for this assumption ?

(b) Regarding the author's "crucial fact", may it not rather be naturally assumed that the Indo-Aryans, during the period of the tenth Maṇḍala of the Ṛgveda had established themselves well in the Brahmarshideśa, so that their enumeration of rivers by starting with the Ganges was natural, not in view of their expansion, but in view of their settlements ?

(3) Regarding Dravidian, Jules Bloch in his work "Structure *Grammaticale* des langues dravidiennes" (Paris, 1946, pp. 32-33) makes a startling remark that Drividian has no adjectives. He concludes this from the absence of grammatical concord in the Dravidian adjective with the noun. But if this reason be accepted, one may have to discard the term adjective in the English language as well, for it has no such concord.

(4) Regarding Muṇḍ, C. Von Fürer Haimendorf has discovered another tribe Dires, in South India, speaking the Austro-Asiatic languages. The Linguistic Survey of India mentions neither this tribe nor their language (His letter dated the 6th Feb. last to Dr. Dandekar, copy of which was sent to me).

And now, gentlemen, time commands me to close. I obey, with an optimistic outlook. Already Linguistics has been included as a regular section of Anthropology in all yearly supplementary volumes of the Encyclopaedia Britannica, while the Govt. of India have ear-marked a handsome grant for the extension of the Anthropological Survey of India. We may dream of the possibility of the inclusion of Linguistics as well in this Survey. We may also dream of a closer alliance between Linguistics and Indian Culture, now that Prof. Gode has firmly joined us. We may, in conclusion, dream of the inclusion of Phonetics and Philology as a compulsory subject in all training Colleges and teaching institutions.

Thanking you.

10. Presidential Address : Dravidian Section (XI)

By P. S. SUBRAHMANYA SASTRI, M.A. Ph.D.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Let me thank the Executive Committee of the All India Oriental Conference for having given me the honour of presiding over the Dravidian Section at its fifteenth session. Allow me to place before you a few of my ideas relating to two topics :—

(i) Is Sanskrit a dead language ?

(ii) What is the relation of the important Dravidian languages to Sanskrit ?

Before I go to the first topic, let me ask you "Is English a living language or a dead one ?" Is Tamil, Telugu, Kannaḍa or Malayalam a living language or a dead one ? If your reply is that English is a living language, it is not scientifically correct. What about Anglo-Saxon ? Is Anglosaxon spoken in England to-day ? What about Chaucerian English ? Is it spoken there to-day ? What about even Shakespearian English ? Is it spoken there to-day ? A careful study of English at the different stages of her growth on the Phonological, Morphological and Semasiological sides clearly convinces one that they differ much, one from another, and they greatly differ from the English spoken to-day in England. Hence what are we to say ? Anglosaxon English is dead ; Chaucerian English is dead ; Shakespearian English is dead ; *modern* English is living. Similarly you may find that Tamil spoken in the Sangam period differs from that spoken to-day phonologically, morphologically and semasiologically. Hence to say that Tamil is a living language is a misnomer. We have to say that *modern* Tamil is a living language. The same holds good for Telugu, Kannaḍa and Malayalam.

For similar reasons it is incorrect to say that Sanskrit is a dead language. First of all let us see to which language the term Sanskrit refers. Till the beginning of the Christian era, it seems that the term Sanskrit was not used in that sense. Pāṇini calls the spoken language of his time as *bhāṣā* and Patañjali as *apabhraṁsa.* It is only at the Post-Christian era it seems to refer to the literary language of the time. As we see what we now call Sanskrit at the different stages of her growth, we have Vedic Sanskrit, Epic Sanskrit and Pāṇinian Sanskrit. Her later growth was into Prākṛts and the modern vernaculars of North India. Are not the latter the modern Sanskrit ? Because they have got different names as Marathi, Hindi, etc., have they lost their claim to have been the offshoots of the language spoken at the time of Pāṇini ? It is therefore necessary to say that Vedic Sanskrit is dead, Epic Sanskrit is dead, Pāṇinian Sanskrit is dead and modern Sanskrit is living. This will reveal to the research scholars how absolutely necessary it is for them to study a language in her different periods of growth. It is only then they can fully understand and appreciate the literature of different times.

By way of digression, I may ask you how many among Englishmen of to-day understand the literature of the Anglosaxon and the Chaucerian periods and speak the language of those periods. Compare it with the number of Indians who can understand the literature of the Vedic period, Epic period and Pāṇinian period and speak the language of those periods. Is it not a source of pride that the number of Indians who can do it is immensely larger than the number of Englishmen who can do it with reference to English ?

Relation of important Dravidian languages to Sanskrit. Tamil, Telugu, Kannaḍa and Malayalam are considered the most important among the Dravidian languages. Of these, Tamil alone possesses literature and grammar belonging to the Pre-Christian era. Most of the literature and the grammars of the other three seem to belong to periods later than 10th C. A. D. By that time one can say without fear of contradiction that Tamil underwent at least three stages of growth.

If we examine the Tamil language as it existed before the Christian era, we clearly see that it belonged to a family of languages other than the Indo-European family. It may be going into details if I enumerate to you the reasons which enable me to arrive at the conclusion. Those who are interested in knowing them are advised to refer to the Introduction in my 'Comparative Grammar of the Tamil language'. But a close study of the literature of the Sangam period reveals to us many points of interest :—It shows that the extant literature of the Sangam period was written at a time before which the Dravidians should have long lived with the Aryans. The earliest stanza that we are now able to get (i.e.,) the second stanza of the *Puṛanāṉūṉu* gives reference to the *Agnihotram* performed by Brahmans in the Potiyam hills. *AntiY-antaṇar aruṅ-kaṭan irukkum Poṛkōṭ ṭ-imayamum Potiyamum pōṉrē*, and it is mentioned there as a *Kaṭaṉ* or ṇṇa. Reference may be found in plenty from my paper 'Sangam classics and Vedic Religion' testifying how Vedic religion was prevalent in South India with reference to both the *Karmakāṇḍa* portion and the *Jñānakāṇḍa* portion. Hence a thorough knowledge of Sanskrit from the Vedic period to the classical period is necessary to clearly understand and appreciate Tamil literature. The same may hold good with reference to Telugu, Kannaḍa and Malayalam literature. Hence it is the duty of the research scholars to bring this home to the mind of the scholars of Dravidian languages and enable them discard the feeling of enmity towards Sanskrit. It should be the prayer of all that Sanskrit should be read in every home of India. Jaya Bhārat.

II. Presidential Address : Philosophy and Religion (XII)

By Mimamsakaratna V. A. Ramaswami Sastri, M.A.,

Mr. President, Fellow delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,

It is my first and foremost duty to express here my sincere thanks to the Executive Committee of this Conference for having elected me to preside over the Philosophy and Religion section of this, the XVth session of the Conference, now being held in this historic city of Bombay under the auspices of the Bombay University and the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. I deem it a unique honour conferred on me and it shall be my earnest endeavour to discharge my duties in the deliberations of this section with the full co-operation of every one of you present here.

Friends ! Religion and Philosophy are two important departments of knowledge working for and aiming at the moral and spiritual edification of man. The Indian literature covering these two subjects is so vast and the questions connected with their problems are so complicated that they require separate sections for a full investigation into each ; but their joint treatment in one section of this Conference is a healthy sign of their inseparableness and oneness in essence. It is generally said that what philosophy preaches religion tries to practise and that they have a common aim, common material for investigation and common methods of procedure in the pursuit of their aim. There is however a growing tendency both in India and abroad to separate religion from philosophy. But a careful steady of Indian religious and philosophical literature would convince us that they aim alike at the moral and spiritual happiness of man and so one cannot be divorced from the other.

To the Indian, philosophy is not confined to the study of the functions of human intellect alone ; it is also concerned with the study of the functions of a higher power in man—*Intuition.* What is generally known in Indian literature as *dharma* and *mokṣa*, the two great human values that every man strives to achieve, is known as supernormal in that they cannot be perceived, experienced or realised by ordinary intellectual processes like perception and inference. It is the śāstra or āgama comprising the self-revealed Vedas, the Smṛtis, the time-honoured practices of the great and the intuitive knowledge (ātmatuṣṭi) that is considered the only authority on them. (Cf. तस्माच्छास्त्रं प्रमाणं ते कार्याकार्यव्यवस्थितौ Gītā). Our sages are spoken of as having experienced and realised *dharma* साक्षात्कृतधर्माण ऋषयो बभूवु: ; and their experience or realisation does not come under the purely intellectual experiences, but under intuitive realisation. It is this intuitive knowledge or realisation that has made these ṛṣis great mystic personalities who are able to understand eternal truth and distinguish the right from the wrong.

That Indians have understood philosophy as a *darśana*—a system both rationalistic and intuitional, standing and striving for the realisation of the Highest Truth—can be discerned from a study of the first Vedānta sūtra अथातो ब्रह्मजिज्ञासा which explains the investigation of Brahman by a man who has attained the real adhikāra—qualification—for it. This is indicated by the word अथ which means, according to Śaṅkara, 'after the attainment of the four-fold *sādhana*, viz. (i) *nityānitya-vastuviveka*—a firm conviction of the mind that Brahman is eternal and real and the rest, transitory and unreal ; (ii) *ihāmutra-phalabhoga-virāga*—renunciation of all phenomenal enjoyments both of this world and of the other ; (iii) *śamadamādiṣaṭkasampatti*—attainment of the six spiritual qualities : *śama*, resting of the mind on Brahman after detaching itself from the manifold sense-objects, *dama*, self-control by turning the organs of sense and of action and placing them in their centre, *uparati*, self-withdrawal from any kind of mental action, *titikṣā*, forbearance by suffering without caring to be free from anxiety or lament, *śraddhā*, acceptance by firm judgment of what the scriptures and the ācārya instruct, *samādhāna*, the constant concentration of the intellect on Brahman, the ultimate reality ; and (iv) *mumukṣutā*—yearning for freedom by realising one's true nature from all bondages resulting from egoism. These qualifications for the enquirer of Brahman well speak of the highly moral and spiritual discipline that every Indian aspires for. The Upaniṣads, the Bhagavadgītā and other philosophical texts fully reveal and illustrate the lives of many sages who have realised Ātman by the spiritual processes of *śravaṇa*, the study of the Vedānta texts under an ācārya, *manana*, examination of the Vedāntic contents by logical arguments, and *nididhyāsana*, constant contemplation of Ātman leading to self-realisation, as found in the upaniṣadic passage : आत्मा वा अरे द्रष्टव्यः श्रोतव्यो मन्तव्यो निदिध्यासितव्यः।

There is a mis-conception among modern students of philosophy that Indian philosophy is too idealistic, negative and pessimistic and that it does not deal with real life. A true picture of Indian life in both its idealistic and realistic aspects can be had from a close study and understanding of the duties of the four varṇas and āśramas of the Hindus. The caste system, whatever may be its origin, contains the key for understanding the true life of a Hindu. The duties of the four āśramas clearly mark the evolution in his life, first as a *brahmacārin*, initiated to his studies under a teacher, then as a *gṛhastha*, living a married life and performing his manifold duties, then as a *vānaprastha*, a hermit in a forest training for deep meditation, and lastly as a *sanyāsin*, renouncing the world and seeking realisation of the Highest Truth. Whether all these four stages of life are possible for one in a single birth or whether one has to undergo a series of births for a successful completion of his lifetask is a question that can be decided only by the various controlling factors like one's actions done and accumulated in every birth. The realisation of the Highest Truth, Ātman, is possible when one is completely free from the results of *karma*, which are considered to be bondages. It is the fire of self-knowledge that can burn and annihilate *karma* totally (cf. ज्ञानाग्निः सर्वकर्माणि भस्मसात्कुरुतेऽर्जुन Gītā) and make one fully liberated from all bondages like births and deaths (cf. न स पुनरावर्तते; अनावृत्तिः शब्दात्).

Modern India which had been till very recently ruled by the British Government, has adopted to a great extent the Western points of view, the

Western standards of values and the Western ideals. India's tradition and her age-long civilization are fundamentally opposed to and different from what she has been receiving from Europe. The conflict is so severe that in recent years the inherited traditions are asserting themselves against the newly acquired views. From a long period not less than 2500 years, India more than any other country, has spent her energies on the development of philosophy which is compared by some to the development of science in Europe during the last three or four centuries. It must be, however, said that the modern science, whatever may be its wonderful achievements, has not yet attained that stage of perfection as Indian philosophy had attained thousand years ago. Many people believe that science is necessary for a life of comfort, power and dignity and that philosophy is only a side-issue. The nature of the soul and its relation to God, the common factors of soul and God, the interactions of mind and matter, the one essence behind the universe—all these which are treated by philosophy are now considered as having no relation to real life. Science holds supreme power over man while philosophy has become a subject for reproach. India has produced her science out of her philosophy while Europe can claim her philosophy out of her science. The result of this different outlook is of far-reaching importance that in the continent of Europe and America which can boast of unparallelled scientific advancement, there is no peace, contentment and happiness though they have all facilities for the enjoyment of a rich and luxurious material life. One of the prime causes of this unhappiness and racial and class hatred is the lack of proportion in the development of science and philosophy. Science, arts, religion and philosophy and other branches of knowledge—all work for the perfection and happiness of man. Science gives him all material comforts. Arts afford him aesthetic pleasure. Religion and philosophy strive for his moral and spiritual progress and welfare. His happiness would not be stable and permanent if all these branches of knowledge do not progressively and co-ordinately work together.

It is highly deplorable that many educational institutions including Universities have not given sufficient encouragement for the advanced study of philosophy, particularly Indian philosophy, and that those which have made provision for it in post-graduate and other advanced courses, have not introduced the compulsory study of the original philosophical works in Sanskrit, Pali and other Indian languages. People still feel and publicly say that the study of original works on diverse subjects is not necessary in that the English translations of those works serve the purpose. No doubt, many standard works have English translations published in the monumental series like the Sacred Books of the East, the Sacred Books of the Hindus etc. and their importance to both Sanskrit-knowing and non-Sanskrit-knowing students cannot be over-estimated ; yet it is now an admitted fact among the majority of scholars that many English translations are not true to the originals in many places and that sometimes the originals and translations give different views even on fundamental matters and so they cannot be entirely relied upon for a correct understanding of the subject. The mistake lies in the fact that the translator very often mixes his views with those of the original and that he fails also in many places to explain the purport of the original.

Sanskrit language, which can boast of many masterly texts and commentaries in all important branches of learning, is the richest among the languages of the world and its richness can be discerned by the number of standard commentaries in that language which are not only explanatory of the texts, but critical treatises as well. Many texts, particularly those in sūtra form,—cannot be understood without the help of the *bhāṣyas* and other commentaries thereon. The importance of these commentaries is explained by the well-known dictum of the Mahābhāṣyakāra : व्यांख्यानतो विशेषप्रतिपत्तिः नहि सन्देहादलक्षणम् and the well-known verse :

सूत्रेष्वेव हि तत्सर्वं यद्वृत्तौ यच्च वार्तिके।
सर्वं सूत्रे प्रतिष्ठितम्॥

quoted in the *Tantravārttika.* These indicate that those who compose the original texts like the sūtras and those who write the commentaries thereon like the *vṛtti, vārttika* and *bhāṣya* have a continuous tradition and so it is held that what the commentator has explained is the view of the original writer, viz. the sūtrakāra. The modern translator, be he an Indian or a foreigner, has not inherited the continuous tradition that the ancient commentator has possessed to his advantage and it is the break of the time-honoured tradition that is to a great extent responsible for the lack of correct understanding of the standard works in each system of philosophy or any other branch of learning in India.

The modern students of Brahmasūtras, who have been more obsessed with the notions of historical study of the text, have begun to doubt the authenticity of the *tarkapāda* which they call an interpolation. Similarly the extant Brahmasūtras are called Chāndogya-Brahmasūtras, since many passages given for illustration are taken from Chāndogyopaniṣad. But a traditional student of Brahmasūtras would never doubt the authenticity of the *tarkapāda* because the *svapakṣa-sthāpana*, the establishment of the *siddhānta*, cannot be final without *parapakṣa-nirākaraṇa*, the refutation of the rival views on the matter. So also he cannot accept the view that each Upaniṣad belonging to a particular śākhā of the Veda has got a separate Brahmasūtra, the extant one belonging to Chāndogya, in view of the fact that the Brahmasūtras stand in contrast with the Prātiśākhyas and Kalpasūtras just like the Pūrva-Mīmāṁsā-sūtras which also compile together for the benefit of the Vedic student all the Vedic accessories scattered over different recensions of the Vedas. The Brahmasūtras form a synthetic study of all the upaniṣads belonging to the different Vedas and their different recensions and investigates the chief import of the Vedānta-vākyas by enunciating rules of interpretation. They even give effect to what is known as *ekavākyatā* between passages found in different upaniṣads with a view to expounding the view that all upaniṣads, otherwise known as vedāntas, convey primarily one ultimate Brahman : cf. "सर्वेषां वेदान्तानां परस्मिन्ब्रह्मणि तात्पर्यम्"।

Again, modern students of philosophy who make a comparative study of Indian philosophical systems with a few important schools of the West, find strong loopholes in the traditional interpretation of the Brahma-sūtras given by several Ācāryas like Śaṅkara, Rāmānuja and Ānandatīrtha. There is a prevalent opinion among them that Rāmānuja, Nimbārka and Vallabha have interpreted the sūtras more correctly than the rest. They even question the validity of the traditional method of interpretation based on the various *tātparyaliṅgas* contained in the well-known kārikā :

"उपक्रमोपसंहारावभ्यासोऽपूर्वता फलम्।
अर्थवादोपपत्ती च लिङ्गं तात्पर्यनिर्णये॥"

on the ground that these Ācāryas who follow the same principles of interpretation have given widely different and sometimes quite opposite views regarding the teaching of the Brahma-sūtras. They have left no stone unturned in pointing out that Śrī Śaṅkara who has won a unique place among the Brahma-sūtra bhāṣyakāras has not correctly and consistently interpreted the Brahma-sūtras and that his topical arrangement of the sūtras is overlapping and as such unscientific. They even go to the extent of saying that "not only had the Ācāryas no correct tradition about the meaning of the Brahma-sūtras but they had even no correct text of the same, and that the system of the sūtrakāra was already forgotten long before Śaṅkara".*

As an humble student of Brahma-sūtras and Śrī Śaṅkara's bhāṣya thereon, I feel strongly that this challenge against the traditional interpretation of the Bhāṣyakāras is to be met. But this is not the proper occasion for such a digression. I am glad to observe, however, that several successful attempts by students of Brahmasūtra who have the special training on the Intidan traditional lines have already been made to obliterate such sweeping and unwholesome criticisms which do not at all help anyone to correctly understand our systems of philosophy. To say that the sūtras are differently interpreted by different Ācāryas to establish their own systems of thought is not a defect in the system if it is backed by sound logical arguments. To Śrī Śaṅkara upaniṣads are the most important and on them he builds his system of Advaita. He interprets them on the basis of *tātparyaliṅgas* mentioned before. Several doubtful and ambiguous passages of these upaniṣads are taken as the *viṣayavākyas* of these Brahmasūtras and all of them are interpreted by him in favour of his system with the help of these sūtras giving rules of interpretation. His system alone is known as the *Aupaniṣada-darśana*, while other systems like those of Rāmānuja and Ānanda-tīrtha are based on upaniṣads as well as certain āgamas and purāṇas. His system alone stands the test of time since it gives all other systems their due place and occupies its own place above them on the basis of the well-known general maxim : 'unity in diversity'. Śaṅkara and other Bhāṣyakāras have arranged these Brahma-sūtras into various adhikaraṇas for enunciating rules of interpretation and they have six aṅgas :—viṣaya (the viṣayavākya), viśaya (doubt), pūrvapakṣa (prima facie view), siddhānta (conclusion), prayojana (result of the investigation) and saṅgati (the connection or sequence of one adhikaraṇa with another etc.). Under saṅgati, upodghāta (introduction), apavāda (exception), pratyudāharaṇa, atideśa and prasaṅga are included and if there is any unconnected topic discussed in an adhikaraṇa, it may be due to the further elaboration or application of the rules in question. The charge that Śrī Śaṅkara and other bhāṣyakāras do not possess the correct tradition of the Brahma-sūtras which had been forgotten long long before Śaṅkara need not be taken seriously and the fitting reply to these modern scholars is : "न चैष स्थाणोरपराधः यदेनमन्धो न पश्यति, पुरुषापराधस्स भवति"।

Similarly the view sponsored by some that the *Saṅkarṣakāṇḍa* is a spurious work composed by a writer of the 16th or the 17th century would not be acceptable to a traditional student of Pūrva-Mīmāṁsā, since it is an admitted fact among the traditional pandits that it is a genuine supplement to the 12 chapters of the P.M. sūtras. Its existence is even anticipated by Bādarāyaṇa in his sūtra : प्रदानवदेव तदुक्तम् (III—3·43) which is commented on by most of the Bhāṣyakāras : तदुक्तं सङ्कर्षे–नाना वा देवताश्रयत्वात् etc. It is an unfortunate fact that no manuscript containing the sūtras of *Saṅkarṣakāṇḍa* has been yet unearthed though manuscripts of Devasvāmibhāṣya on the work contain them, some in full and some in parts. A few full sūtras are found quoted and explained by Appayya Dīkṣita in his *Parimalā* and by Vāsudeva Dīkṣita in his *adhvaramīmāṁsā-kutūhalavṛtti*.

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* Vide Prof. P. M. Modi's paper on 'Defects of the traditional method of interpreting the Brahmasūtras', Proceedings of the XII AIOC. Benares, Vol. ii. p. 368.

The modern student of Vedānta and other śāstras, however much he is well-versed in the modern historical and comparative methods, would not be able to understand the Indian traditional method if he does not study these standard commentaries under a traditional pandit, and any translation of a work or independant exposition by him would not be wholly reliable or complete if it is not supported by the Indian traditional method. It is therefore, highly desirable that our Universities make necessary provision in their Departments of Philosophy for a compulsory critical study of the original works in Sanskrit and other Indian languages on diverse subjects for a correct and unbiassed understanding and appreciation of those subjects.

We are all very happy today to say that we have won our political freedom by peaceful methods and it is in the interest of promoting that feedom that we have to make adequate provision for the revival of our religion and philosophy, art and literature, science and other branches of knowledge. All Universities which are truly considered to be the cultural centres and temples of learning have to make provision (if they have not already made) for the advanced study and original research, particularly in our religion and philosophy. Besides these universities, Research Institutes both under private and public munificence may be started at every important centre in India to make our religion and philosophy understood by common people even, so that the mistaken notion that it is the monopoly of a few scholars may vanish. Popular handbooks on the essentials of our religion and philosophy are to be published and they should be made accessible to each and every Indian so that he or she is first an Indian and then a member of his or her community or profession.

Every one of us would be very happy to learn that Independent India has already started the publication of a work on "Philosophy—Eastern and Western", under the guidance of an editorial board with Dr. Sir S. Radhakrishnan, the leading Indian philosopher and diplomat as its president. No doubt, it would be a monumental work consisting of learned contributions made by experts in the different systems of philosophy, both of the East and of the West.

The Ramakrishna Mission Institute of Culture has already embarked on the publication of a second edition of the Cultural Heritage of India in seven volumes under the distinguished editorship of Dr. H. D. Bhattacharya of Calcutta. Two volumes on Religion and Philosophy are now ready in manuscript and when published would serve the purpose of supplying the needs of the inquisitive lay public as also of scholars. The preparation of two other volumes on Indian culture, Buddhism and Jainism, the Epics, the Purāṇas and the Dharmaśāstras is also making progress. The work of the Sri Ramakrishna Mission in the publication of this huge work as well as of the original Sanskrit texts on our religion and philosophy such as the major upaniṣads, the Bhagavad Gītā, with English translation and notes deserves all praise. The work of the mission particularly in New York and in the Holywood centres in U. S. A. under the leadership of Svami Nikhilananda and Svami Pranabananda is interesting the Americans in the study of our religions and philosophical texts with the help of good and reliable translations supplied by the Mission.

It is also gratifying to note that the preparat'on of a 'Bibliography of Indian Philosophical Literature' is now being entrusted to select scholars under the distinguished patronage and munificence of Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, who has donated a handsome sum of Rs. 25,000/- for this important and useful reference work.

II.

It is now my pleasant duty to review here some of the important publications on Religion and Philosophy that have appeared during the past one year since our meeting at Darbhanga.

A History of Indian Philosophy, Vol. IV, by Prof. Das Gupta of Calcutta is one of the most important among them. Prof. Das Gupta elucidates in a masterly manner in ten chapters the doctrines coming under Indian Pluralism in this volume. It begins with the philosophy of Bhāgavata Purāṇa, which the learned author believes to be a later day production, probably belonging to the 11th century, by a Southerner as it refers to the Vaiṣṇava Ālvārs of South India. Though pre-eminently a devotional work, its importance in philosophical literature is emphasized by all later writers like Sri Ānandatīrtha (Madhvācārya) who wrote a commentary on it called Bhāgavata-tātpraya. It describes according to the author the theistic philosophy of Kapila which is different from the philosophy of the classical Sāṅkhya, known in Iśvarakṛṣṇa's kārikās. In four chapters the author elucidates the dualistic philosophy of Śrī Ānandatīrtha and his followers on the basis of their main works. In two chapters the controversy between the dualists and the monists has been ably treated as found in Vyāsatīrtha's Nyāyāmṛta, Madhusūdanasarasvatī's Advaitasiddhi which contains direct refutations of the views of Vyāsatīrtha and Rāmācārya's Taraṅgiṇi, a commentary on Nyāyāmṛta which gives effective replies to the attacks of Madhusūdana. The author has safely omitted in this volume the more effective rejoinders to Taraṅgiṇi given by Brahmānanda Sarasvatī in his Laghucandrikā, a critical commentary on Advaitasiddhi . In subsequent chapters the different philosophical views propounded by Vallabhācārya, Caitanya, Jīvagosvāmin and Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa are elucidated. The book contains a copious Index of works, authors, and important subjects dealt with in this volume which is bound to be very useful to the readers.

Prof. M. Hiriyanna's "The Evolution of Indian Philosophy" is another important publication. A simple and shorter version than the learned author's 'Outlines of Indian Philosophy' it is bound to be quite welcome among students of Indian philosophy. Though identical in contents with its predecessor, there is variation in the treatment of topics in the first two chapters on 'Vedic Religion and Philosophy' and 'Transition to the systems'. In the treatment of Buddhism under non-Vedic schools, in addition to the two stages of its growth already dealt with in his previous book, a third phase representing the doctrine as it was originally taught by Buddha has been introduced. Again under 'Vedānta Theistic', the dvaita system of Madhvācārya omitted in the previous book has been dealt with along with Rāmānuja's system of Viśiṣṭādvaita. The author uses a few Sanskrit terms with English equivalents for which he has appended a Sanskrit glossary which is bound to be very useful to its readers.

Sir S. Radhakrishnan's Śtī Bhagavad Gītā, containing his English translation, notes and introduction, is a valuable contribution. Coming from an acknowledged authority on the subject, it is bound to be very popular and a welcome addition to the printed literature on the subject. His English rendering is direct and simple, and his notes are explanatory of many philosophical doctrines in the Gītā. He does not entirely follow any of the pūrvācāryas like Śrī Śaṅkara, but gives his own interpretation to many verses and practical suggestions as suited to modern conditions. His introduction dealing with religious and philosophical importance of the Gītā, the personality of Śrī Kṛṣṇa, the world teacher, and Gītā as a yoga-śāstra is the most scholarly and most interesting piece presented in a clear, lucid and charming style.

"Phases of Religion and Culture" by Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, is a timely work containing nine essays from the facile pen of the statesman-scholar who has dealt with the important civilisations of the world and others topics of modern interest like "The World and India", "World Religion", "An anthology of Indian Culture", "Ramana Maharshi" and "Anand K. Coomaraswamy". He asserts that the best religion is that which admits the truth of all religions and that Hinduism fulfills all the conditions of 'universality" and therefore, not opposed to the other Universal Religions of the world like Christianity, Islam and Buddhism.

"Aspects of Advaita" by Prof. P. N. Srinivasachariar, Madras, is another important work which condenses the cardinal doctrines of Advaita with a general estimate of the other schools, with a view to bringing out the point of approach between practical advaita and viśiṣṭādvaita and the need for intervedāntic understanding. The learned professor thus remarks in the concluding section : 'The sympathetic understanding of Practical Advaita and Viśiṣṭādvaita in its Śaivite and Vaiṣṇavite aspects satisfies the highest logical, ethical and aesthetic ideals of truth, goodness and beauty, meets the demands of Vedantic Universalism and inter-vedantic understanding which is so essential to the consolidation of Hinduism as the harmony of religions.'

"Studies in Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika Metaphysics" by Sri Sadananda Bhaduri is a work on Indian realism. It studies the logic and metaphysics of the two systems Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika concurrently as interrelated to each other. Its discussions on the atomic theory and causality and the criticisms of the Nyāya-vaiśeṣika doctrines from Advaitic and Buddhistic points of view against which Indian Realism is defended, are presented with consumate care and skill.

Sri K. M. Munshi Diamond Jubilee Volume, Part I, published by the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, contains a few important papers on 'Religion and Philosophy'. The paper on 'Psychology of dream phenomena in Vedic philosophy' by Enrico Gerardo Carpani contains a critical study of several passages in Chāndogya and Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣads, referreing to the psychology of dream phenomena. The 'Common Wisdom of the World' by Anand K. Coomaraswamy opens a new vista of comparative study of the scriptures of the West with that of the East. Another paper on 'Brahma Ākāśa equation—its origin and development' by Rao Bahadur P. C. Diwanji contains a historical study of the word in the Vedic texts. Another interesting paper on 'Mīmāṁsā and legal interpretation' by Dr. G. V. Devasthali, exphasizes the importance of mīmāṁsā-śāstra as the science of legal interpretation in ancient India comparing it with the modern codes and practics of law.

There are some more original works published during this period and among these mention may be made of: (1) Kashmir Saivism by K. Guru Dutt, explaining the chief tenets of pratyabhijñādarśana, once very popular in Kashmir; (2) Introduction and History of Śaiva Siddhānta by Vidvan G. Subrahmanya Pillai, which is a treatise on South Indian Śaivism based on some Tamil classics; (3) Who am I by Dr. Mohan Singh; (4) Vedāntajyoti by Swami Sivananda, dealing with certain philosophical puzzles regarding the nature of self from practical points of view; (5) Secret Doctrines of Gītā by G. Ramakantacharya, a follower of Rāmānuja, explaining eight secrets contained in the Gītā; and (6) Discourses on the Philosophy of Bhagavadgītā by Sri Mangal Charan, containing the author's personal study of Gītā from the Advaitic point of view.

Among original works edited or translated, mention may be made of: (1) Bhagavadgītā with Śrīdhara's commentary translated by Swami Vireswarananda of Ramakrishna Mutt; (2) Kaṭhopaniṣad with Śrī Raṅgarāmānuja's bhāṣya, with English translation and notes, by Dr. K. C. Varadachari and D. T. Tatacharya; (3) Bhāvanopaniṣad with Tamil translation and notes by Prof. Rangachariar and Pandit K. Srinivaschari, explaining the importance and the pūjāvidhi of Śrīcakra; (4) Yatīndramatadīpikā, a good viśiṣṭādvaita primer explaining the pramāṇas and prameyas, with English translation by another Swami of Sri Ramakrishna Mutt; (5) Todarānanda, Vol. I., (on Religion and Philosophy) edited by Dr. P. L. Vaidya in the Gaṅga Oriental Series, being an encyclopaedic work compiled by scholars under the patronage of Raja Todermal, general-minister of Akbar, the great; (6) Sadāśivabrahmendra's Sarva-vedānta-sārasaṅgraha, with an introduction of A. V. Gopalachari; (7) Gadādhara Bhaṭṭa's Vyutpattivāda (lakārārthaprakaraṇa) with a modern commentary by Paṇḍitarāja V. Subrahmanya Sastri; and (8) Kṛṣṇayajvan's Mīmāṁsāparibhāṣā with an English translation, by Swami Madhavananda of Ramakrishna Mutt; (9) Madanratnapradīpa of Madanasiṁha, vol. I on Vyavahāra, edited by MM. P. V. Kane, in the Anup Sanskrit Series, Bikaner, the work being an important digest on Dharmaśāstra in seven parts belonging to the 14th century. All these are of great importance to students of Hindu religion who seek to understand the original texts in Sanskrit.

In conclusion, may I repeat here my appeal to all of you present here (and other Bhāratiyas through you), that it is the imperative duty of each and every Bhāratiya to study his religion and philosophy from their original sources. Man is not to be understood as merely a rational animal. He is out and out a cultural being. His animalism is to be curbed down by some effective means. His rational power, no doubt, distinguishes him from the lower animals and gives him a unique place among God's creations for his inventive genius and mighty intellect. It does not however suppress and kill his animal power to create internecine rebellions and wars even to destroy the world. To conquer his animal element and to set right his rationalistic and spiritual actions, we have to go to the Upaniṣads, the Bhagavadgītā and other philosophical texts which emphasise the supreme importance of the practice of yoga, for his eternal peace and happiness and this yoga practised in a spirit of detachment elevates him from the down-trodden animal world to a higher sphere of great illumination, eternal Truth and imperishable bliss. May we strive for the revival of this yoga-practice, the only means of man's self-realisation in our sacred Bhāratavarṣa! 'Asato mā sad gamaya'

12. Presidential Address : Technical Sciences (XIII)

Ladies and Gentlemen,

First on your behalf and on my own behalf I invite the ancient Goddess of Beauty, Devī Padmā-Śrī, with whose images we are familiar in Indian art as an age-old symbol, universally worshipped and venerated. I then offer my obeisance to this learned gathering (*sadase namaḥ*) to whom my heartfelt gratefulness is due for the honour done to me. Conscious as I am of my own limitations, I regard this honour only as a token of your generosity.

For the deliberations of the Technical Sciences Section I have a special regard. To my mind this Section represents one of the most important limbs of the Oriental Conference, as it deals with the study and interpretation of the material evidence of our culture as expressed through art, architecture, music, dance, drama, etc. Whatever be the heights of metaphysical and moral thought attained by a people, the measure of their greatness is more truly reflected in those formal elements of culture which are comprehended in the term Art. India's artistic endeavour through the ages has been very remarkable. Both for quality and quantity of creative effort she may be considered a first-rate artistic power which brought under its influence a large part of Asia. The art strands of India run through many climes ; they stand out as the imperishable symbols of Indian culture, which overstepping its geographical frontiers entered into free and unrestricted communion with other cultures. The full story of these inter-relationships remains yet to be unfolded.

Physical, spiritual and moral beauties are the moving realities of the universe. Each one of them produces an impact of pleasure upon the mind. Art is primarily concerned with the cultivation of beauty through the physical medium. The physical object of art is only a symbol that evokes an experience of aesthetic shock, and thereby it connects us with the vast substratum of pleasure which in Indian aesthetics is called *Rasa*. The material world when properly transformed into terms of the beautiful leads to an experience of *Rasa*. An uncarved stone is only a rough primitive block, but it conceals within itself the potentiality of a peerless beauty. The artist only makes that beauty manifest at a particular point and transforms the rough unhewn piece into a symbol that radiates joy and beauty. Man's worship of art consists in the creation around himself of numberless symbols and expressions of this kind which purport to manifest one or more aspects of the great storehouse of beauty that is in nature.

The worship of beautiful form is linked according to the Indian aesthetic ideal with a metaphysical reality, a divine truth that is ultimately destined to lead to a purification of the mind and liberation of the soul. That has been the supreme function of art in India and the one great factor of the vitality of art throughout its history.

Pericles warned the citizens of Athens when its sense-bound art was at its height in these words : "We support art but with a certain restraint and we support science without becoming unmanly". In the Golden Age of Indian Art, that is the Gupta period, when Indian art had outgrown its craft traditions and really became a fine art (*lalita kalā* as the poet called it), Kālidāsa gave utterance to a similar ideal of Indian aesthetics :

Na Rūpam Pāpavṛittaye

'Beauty of course is our ideal, but not sin.' It is true that men and women in the Gupta age cultivated beauty as a religious cult. Both in the *Vishṇu-dharmottara Purāṇa* and in the *Bṛihatsaṁhitā* of Varāhamihira we find mention of *Rūpa-sattra*, i.e. Beauty-culture, and the reference certainly relates to the popular passion for beautiful form in Gupta Age. As Kālidāsa puts it— 'O Pārvati, the common belief that beauty is not for sin, seems to be unexceptionable' (*Kumārasambhava*, V. 36). This was the ideal followed in the domain of art and life. The Māra-conquering Buddha represents the spiritual truth of the Gupta age, and the vitality of its culture derives its force from the ideal of the High Wisdom (*Anuttara Jñāna*) to which reference is found in many inscriptions on the pedestals of Buddha images.

Indian art presents a long panorama, extending from the Rigvedic period to the close of the eighteenth century. As observed by Giedion in his *Space, Time and Architecture* : 'History is not a compilation of facts but an insight into a moving process of life'. A true and close-up study of Indian art must lead to an insight into the moving process of life that unfolded itself under the Indian sky during the successive ages. Art has preserved in visual documentation the discoveries of thought and the impact of mind on the world around as manifested during the long course of our history. The Vedic period initiating the great march of Indian culture on its onward path is truly the period of 'land-taking'. Not only in a physical sense when this nation got settled on the land, but in the region of thought also it was an age of path-finders, the *Pathikṛit Ṛishis*, who chartered unknown domains of the mind and created eternal motifs of thought that formulate and explain the cosmic processes as applicable equally to the life of the individual and the much bigger entity of the world. A clear inventory of the Vedic motifs remains a desideratum and the work should be carried out comprehensively from the view-point of art-history. Dr. Coomaraswamy offered brilliant expositions of some of these great symbols of thought and life, which also were virtually the symbols of art.

The study of symbols is not only fascinating, but also essential for a clear appraisal of the significance of Indian art motifs. The *Pūrṇakumbha* (Full Vase), *Kalpavṛiksha* (Wish-Fulfilling Tree), *Kāmadhenu* (Cow of Plenty), *Svastika, Chakra, Sūrya, Nāga-Garuḍa* and the *Daivāsuram*—these are some of the great motifs that have been clearly formulated in the Vedas, and throughout our art history they serve as the vehicles of thought and of decoration. They constitute the basic vocabulary of Indian art and literature.

The *Pūrṇakumbha* or Full Vase is pre-eminently a Vedic motif. It is referred to as the overflowing Full Vase (*Pūrṇo asya Kalaśaḥ*) and as filled with all the pair of opposites that constitute life in its dual aspect of Being and Becoming (*Sat-Asat*), Masculine and Feminine (*Strī-Pumān*), Childhood and Age, Immortality and Death, and all the virtues that gods have created and all the vices that *Asuras* love. In Vedic thought the human body itself is such a Full Vase (*Pūrṇakalaśa*), and there is no other more charming symbol created in nature than the human body. As sayeth an Upanishadic passage : Of all the forms that were created the human form was the most perfect (*Purusho vāva bata sukṛitaḥ*). This *Pūrṇakumbha* appears as a symbol of Indian art in a great variety of forms.

The *Kalpa-vṛiksha* or the Wish-Fulfilling Tree is another charming symbol. As a tree or a creeper it sometimes originates from the navel or mouth of a Yaksha, or grows naturally and then sends its endless offshoots into scrolls or arabesques of intricate design. According to the Vedic thought, the human mind (the *Kalpa*) is the source from which all thoughts, either disciplined or uncontrolled (*Saṁkalpa-Vikalpa*) emanate. Mind is the virtual Thought Tree, the *Kalpa-vṛiksha*, under which each one of us stands according to nature's life-scheme. The intricate foliage of this tree or creeper comprises the endless desires and passions that envelope our lives.

Of the great Vedic motifs, the one relating to the eternal conflict of good and evil known as the *Daivāsuram*, constitutes the most forceful and varied symbol for the flow of religious thought and the manifestation of art forms. All our gods and goddesses that enter into deadly combats with demoniac forces ; the Buddha that vanquishes Māra, the genius of evil ; the Yogī Śiva that triumphs over Kāma, the god of love—these are but standing commentaries to explain the dominant motif of *Daivāsuram*. Originally formulated in the Ṛigveda, it subsequently underwent endless transformations, but remained throughout the outstanding metaphysical motif of Indian religious thought and art expressing it.

There is an immense richness of Vedic motifs ; a full study of them with subsequent history would be regarded as a capital contribution to the exposition of Indian literature and art. Actual art remains of the Vedic period are still unknown. It seems unlikely that they will ever be forthcoming; for the Vedic thought revelled in *Deva-śilpa*, the divine or cosmic forms. Like the life of a child awaiting to manifest itself in specialised formal elements, the whole cosmic life is beautiful to the Vedic seer. He finds beauty in the golden goddess of dawn with golden mien, moving in her golden chariot across the sky and sprinkling immortality with her golden-fingered hands. The aesthetic reaction of the Vedic poet is available to us in a number of beauty-denoting words, as if appearing just fresh from the mould. They are reminiscent of the Vedic aesthetics, and we are indebted to Dr. Oldenberg for a very illuminating study of those expressions. However the thesis could be much further extended and each word or motif could be studied with respect to its evolution in classical Sanskrit literature up to the time of Kālidāsa and Bāṇabhaṭṭa.

The two goddesses Śrī and Lakshmī, Beauty and Prosperity, are spoken of as the twin mistresses of the soul (*Srīścha Lakshmīścha Patnyau*), the two benign influences that nurture an individual in his domestic and social setting. This conception was later on developed as the goddess Padmā-Śrī in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*, or the figurine of Srī-Lakshmī and Gajalakshmī which begin to appear in the art of Bharhut, Sanchi, the Orissa Caves and elsewhere, and survive throughout as beautiful and significant motifs of Indian art. As a motif it received universal homage from the Buddhists, the Hindus and the Jains. Like many other Tree and Water motifs the Śrī-Lakshmī conception was rooted in the soil, and is a product of the earth-bound sense of life permeating the early Indian art.

The main problem of the Indus Valley art is an investigation of its historical connections with the ancient art of Western Asia on the one hand and its subsequent links with the historical art of India herself. The Mother-goddess and the Yogī Śiva offer clear pointers to Indian affinities, and similarly are the decorative motifs, the geometrical and floral patterns linked to historical survivals, and it seems highly improbable that an art of such vital growth which flourished on the Indian soil from the Sutlej to the Arabian Sea for a thousand years should have vanished without imparting its trail to its successors. Of its survivals we have as yet only dim intimations, but the subject does not seem to have been properly broached as yet. Recently my attention was drawn to the ring-stones of haematite found at Taxila, Mathura, Kosam, Ahichchhatra, Bhita, Rajghat, Pataliputra and elsewhere. They represent a mother-goddess with alternating tree and animal motifs unconnected with any other objects of the historical period. A seal from Rajghat of the same material shows a bull with a crib before it similar to the Indus Valley 'unicorn' and crib and also a figure of a goat reminiscent of the earlier art. It bears a Brāhmī inscription which I have not been able to decipher. It seems to be an important bit of evidence, a unique relic, but an isolated link in the chain of evidence that might be required to shed light on this obscure problem.

The time from about the eighth century B.C., to the rise of Mauryan imperialism is the Mahā-Janapada period of Indian history. It is the period of the Grihyasūtras and of Pāṇini, of the rise of Buddhism and Jainism. In this period people began to cast off the shackles of their tribal associations and became settled on land in organised village communities. Two outstanding features of our cultural life in the Janapada age are to be particularly noted. The first relates to the full and unfettered freedom of association enjoyed by each group according to its needs, giving rise to a variety of corporate organisations, some well-knit like the Sangha or Śreṇī, and others only loosely bound like the Vrāta or associations of warlike bands. But the second feature is really important for our present purpose. With the people settled quietly on the land, pursuing the avocation of the plough, there emerged factors which led to the cultivation of arts and crafts as an imperative social need and economic function. There were groups of people which formed part of the village economy but could not wholly depend on the land. For them it was necessary to discover new ways of earning a livelihood, and this was the origin of an exciting variety of Śilpas. The whole Janapada society, as it were a team, awoke to activity and threw itself into handicrafts. Any work done by hand, any occupation of manual skill, any activity requiring the use of mind with manual cleverness was called Śilpa. Yāska tells us: 'Proficiency in the professions appertaining to the life of a village bestows on an individual special distinction' (*Jānapadīshu vidyāto purushaviśesho bhavati*). An intensive cultivation of crafts was the hall-mark of this age; the invention of a large number of appliances or skilful contrivances called Yantras, useful for agricultural and domestic life was a distinguishing feature of the civilisation in this period, which is referred to by Manu as *Mahā-Yantra-pravartanam*. The distinction between fine art and crafts did not exist at that time. Pāṇini's definition of Śilpa includes dancers, musicians, instrumentalists (playing on *maḍḍuka* and *jharjhara*), and also barbers and carpenters. The material about the Śilpas in the Jātakas is to be viewed in this light. New professions were being discovered and organised, each one looked upon with due regard as fulfilling a necessary social and economic need. The barber, carpenter, washerman, dyer, dancer, singer, gardener, mason, blacksmith, painter, snake-charmer, goat-herd, potter, florist, weaver, tailor, arrow-maker, wrestler and a host of other workers, constitute the rich pattern of the Śilpas in the Janapada society. It was essentially a Śilpa-culture integrated with the village economy.

The net contribution of this period was the emergence and crystallisation of motifs of architecture and decoration in tangible form. Wood formed the principal medium of carving and for architectural purposes ; the carpenter and the wood-worker are referred to with greater esteem than the stone mason. The gateways and the railings executed in the Śuṅga period derived their ancestry from this earlier age. It was an art of wood transferred to stone. A second feature of the Janapada period art was the outburst of an immense number of symbols (*lakshaṇas*) as seen on the punch-marked coins. Indeed for about another five hundred years, the vogue of symbols became conspicuous in Indian art. A study of the coin symbols with a view to their art history yet remains unwritten, but must prove of interest in assessing the full significance of many decorative patterns of Indian art.

But the outstanding problem of this period is the investigation of the foreign contacts that India established with the Persia of Darius on the west, with the Śakas of Śakadvīpa in Central Asia settled near the Kumud mountain (the Koumedia of Herodotos) beyond the Oxus, and the Yuechis or the Rishikas of Central Asia. The Mahābhārata evidence is positive about these early contacts. Śakandhu and Karkandhu of the grammatical literature in the Vārttikas of Kātyāyana (fourth century B.C.) point to the knowledge of the country of the Śakas and of the Karkas or the Karkians both of whom are referred to in the inscriptions of Darius in the fifth century B. C. A definite flow of Western Asian motifs towards India seems to be predicated as a result of these contacts. The Assyrian passion for colossal animal forms, the Lion and the Bull, and the Babylonian Repeat motif as seen in the representation of the Palm Tree, are clearly reflected in the decorative motifs of Bharhut and Sanchi. The winged and fabulous animals that we usually associate with the Śakas already appear in early Buddhist art. We know of another motif on the punch-marked coins and in sculpture, viz. a triangle-surmounted standard. It appears to me to be the "Standard" symbol or Vaijayanti, the Indra-yashti referred to in the *Mahābhārata* and said to be a banner raised in honour of Indra to mark the weal and prosperity of the whole Janapada. It has an obvious resemblance with the Life motif *ANKH* that is first found in Egypt and then transmitted to other countries in Western Asia. The tradition of the Epic relating to the architect Maya executing the Assembly Hall of Yudhishthira after the pattern of the Viśvakarmā Sabhā can be explained only against a wider background of art extending beyond the borders of India. It cannot however be forgotten that whatever the extent of foreign exchanges in the realm of art may have been, the background of thought on which these were engrafted was essentially Indian. The symbolism of the Lion Capital could hardly have been conceived except against the background of the religion of the Dharmachakra which once surmounted it.

The art of the Śuṅga period is an art of folk-inspiration, a documentation of popular life and cult beliefs. It is dominated by an abandon and freedom peculiar to sylvan deities, the Yakshas and the Nāgarājas. There is in it no urban tension or sophistication, nor is the moral severity of the Buddha's religion impressed on its countenance. The figure of the Yogī Buddha is so to say, unwanted in that art ; the Buddha permeates it only as an influence. The tension of the Buddha image would not accord with an art-feeling of such universal consciousness. The Yakshas stand out pre-eminent in their own right ; they are not yet the puny subordinated and accessory figures that they become in Kushāṇa art. The problem of Śuṅga art, apart from its proper stylistic evaluation, concerns itself mainly with the detailed investigation of art forms and decorative motifs with special reference to their folk symbolism their exposition from literary sources, specially the Jātakas, the Epics and the Jain canons, and the restoration of their technical names. Much useful work was done in this line by Dr. Coomaraswamy in his essay on Early Indian Iconography and on Ancient Indian Architecture dealing with cities, city-gates and palaces. But there is still a vast amount of material in the Jain sources ; specially rich in this respect is the text called the *Rāyapaseṇiya*, in which we find an account of an ancient Stūpa of the mythical Alkappa city, which seems to be a detailed eye-witness description of one of the ancient Jain Stūpas of Mathura built at the Kankali Tila site in the 2nd century B.C. The terminology is extremely rich and the account of the Padmavara Vedikā, the Lotus Railing round the Stūpa with the voluptuous female figures carved on the pillars is exceptionally true to facts taken from actual architecture. This study I am glad to say has been undertaken by my friend Dr. Moti Chandra with remarkable results.

The Kushana art continues further the same indigenous tradition of folk inspiration, of the joy arising from the life of the senses and the pulsating buoyancy of open air feminine sports and pastimes, but their emphasis is increasingly human and the centre is shifting towards an urban civilisation. The emergence of the Buddha image is the supreme gift of Kushana art. The image is not an abrupt or disruptive phenomenon ; it rather stands integrated to the preceding religious processes and is an outcome of the movement laying emphasis on personal devotion to a deity or person of divine rank, counted supreme amongst other godlings. The colossal free standing Buddha and Bodhisattva images cannot be separated from the preceding Parkham Yaksha types. The problem of the origin of the Buddha image had been furnished with an answer in its stylistic bearings long ago by Dr. Coomaraswamy. The key however to the priority of the chronological position between the schools of Mathurā and Gandhāra rests with archaeology and that key is still not forthcoming. The existence of temples of Bhagavān Vāsudeva in the time of Śoḍāsa is however an established fact of archaeology and this at any rate preceded the known images of the Buddha.

The Buddha image introduced a revolutionary change in Indian sculpture and architecture. The images of gods and goddesses began to be executed in increasing numbers according to the dictates of an expanding pantheon. With the main attention focussed on the image the railing receded into the background, and in the Gupta period the railing was absorbed or assimilated in the pattern of the raised platform or temple plinth, the Jagatī-pīṭha, such as we find at Devagarh in which upright pillars with male and female figures carved on them illustrating scenes from Kṛishṇa's life and the Rāmāyaṇa story were fixed against a masonary wall.

The flat-roofed temple of the early Gupta temple with its modest cella (*garbha-gṛiha*) is derived in its architectural pattern from the simple Gandha-kuṭis of the Kushāṇa period. These were constructed for the colossal free standing images of the Buddha by erecting three vertical plain slabs on the three sides and covering it with a flat slab which was carved on its inside with the same decorative patterns and symbols as were seen on the parasol or *chatra*. In fact, at Mathura square parasol slabs of this carved pattern have been recently discovered showing clear devices and grooves for erecting the upright slabs. Subsequently with the addition of a porch and a *śikhara* in the Gupta period the architectural pattern of the Hindu temple emerged completely and fully equipped for its further development.

During the Gupta period Indian sculpture, painting, drama and music witnessed an all round efflorescence. The tremendous outburst of creative activity on a national scale, engulfing the country from Mirpur Khas in Sindh to Dahparbatiya on the Brahmaputra in Assam, established for the first time a national style of art distinguished by common characteristics and activating from numerous centres. There is as yet no adequate study which can be said to do justice to Gupta art comprising its rich sculpture, architecture, painting, terracottas, beads, pottery, and details of ornamentation, decorative motifs, styles of hair-dressing and fashions in costumes and fabrics, as they were developed in the age of Kālidāsa and Bāṇabhaṭṭa. A sumptuous volume like the Sanchi tomes will have to be undertaken to present the material with suitable reproductions, and to interpret it in terms of the contemporary literary evidence. For no other period of Indian history is the cultural material so rich and so amply documented in its literature and art specimens as for the Gupta age. We have, for example, reference to the various styles of hair, as *Alaka*, also called *Valībhṛt keśa* (frizzled locks), *Bhramarālaka* (Bes coiffure) *Līlā-mayūra keśapāśa* (peacock feather style), the honey-combs tyle, the *sīmanta*, parting of the hair and its decoration with a forehead jewel known as the *chaṭula tilakamaṇi*.

The art motifs in the works of Kālidāsa besides offering a rich field of study put us into possession of evidence about the date of the poet. For example, Kālidāsa refers for the first time to the motif of the two river goddesses Gaṅgā and Yamunā carved on the temple doorways in human form and attending on the deity (*mūrte ca GangāYamune tadānīm sachāmare devam asevishātaṁ*). This agrees with the evidence of the *Vishṇudharmottara Purāṇa* stating that the river-goddesses should be shown standing on their respective vehicles with legs bent at the knee and holding Full Vases in their hands :

सरितां सशरीराणां वाहनानि प्रदर्शयेत्।
पूर्णकुम्भकरा: कार्यास्तथा नमित जानव:।। (*Vishṇudharma*. 3·2·51.)

Another typical Gupta feature is the reference to the conch and lotus symbols (*Śaṅkha-Padma-nidhis*), carved on the jambs of doorways. According to the *Vishṇudharmottara*, the two jewels the Lotus and the Conch should be shown in their natural form (*Śaṅkha-Padmau nidhī kāryau svai ūpau*), and this is confirmed by Kālidāsa saying that the house of the exiled Yaksha in Alakā was painted with the figures of the conch and the lotus (*Dvāropānte likhita-vapushau Śaṅkha-Padmau*). This feature is clearly seen in Gupta art, on the flanking posts of the three niches in the walls of the Devagarh temple and on certain other pilasters of the Gupta period in Mathura art. The following additional references indicate the chronological bearings of Kālidāsa with the culture of the Gupta period : the goddess Kāli holding a skull, the Seven Divine Mothers (*Mātaraḥ*) ; Kārttikeya riding a peacock (*mayūra-pṛishṭhaśāyī Guha*) ; Viṣṇu sleeping on Śeṣa (*Śeṣasāyī Viṣṇu*) ; Viṣṇu seated on the coils of a serpent (*Bhogi-bhogāsanāsīna Viṣṇu*) as the one on the image on the lintel (*lalāṭa-bimba*) of the Devagarh temple ; Rāvaṇa lifting Kailāsa ; the dwarfish attendants of Viṣṇu partly in human and partly in their natural form (*jalajāsi-gadā-śārṅga-cakra-lāñchita-mūrtibhi. Raghuvaṁśa*) ; the halo resembling a full-blown lotus (*padmātapatrachāyā-maṇḍala*) as contrasted with the plain halo of the Kushana period with only a margin of scallops, etc. A more detailed study of all the motifs and elements of decoration mentioned by the poet and seen in art and painting is likely to render the picture of co-relationships even more complete. The lotus-halo of the Buddha, Vishṇu and Tīrthankara images of the Gupta period are well-known. According to the *Bṛhatsamhitā* the halo should be covered with a pattern of geese with feathers treated in conventionalised scrolls, adorned with pearl festoons (*muktāphalo-pachita-prālamba-mālāvila*) and these features are corroborated by the actual specimens.

The cultural history of the Gupta age stretched itself into the seventh century. The *Kādambarī* and the *Harshacharita* of Bāṇa written in the time of Harsha provide us with evidence about iconography, ornamentation, drapery, decorative motifs, furniture, utensils, trappings of horses and elephants, etc. which is extremely valuable for an understanding of the material culture of the transitional period between the Gupta and the medieval epochs. The importance of the *Harshacharita* as a cultural treatise cannot be overestimated. I have recently come across references there to two kinds of foreign imported textiles, firstly *Stavaraka* manufactured in Iran and exported on one side to India and on the other to Arabia where it finds mention in the description of the raiments of the Houries in Paradise, and secondly to a textile of Central Asian origin called *Pṛṅga* which was a kind of damask silk of one colour. The many coloured striped drapery of Ajanta is referred to as *Indrāyudhāmbara*, the cloth resembling the rainbow ; the tie and dye process is also mentioned. This varied material has to be properly presented and interpreted in the light of actual evidence from art.

The problem of Indian art terminology is a vast one for which the available material is extremely rich. It is embodied in specialised texts like the *Vishṇudharmottara*, the Chitrasūtra part of it, the *Mānasāra*, or the *Samrāṅgaṇasūtradhāra*. The stray references in the Pāli Sanskrit and Prakrit literature amplify it. Dr. Coomaraswamy in his *Indian Architectural Terms* made a beginning with this study. Mr. Sivaramamurti at one time contributed fairly extensive articles on the art treferences in the various classical *Kāvyas*. Dr. Moti Chandra has bagged a rich harvest of such terms in his amply documented papers relating to Indian costumes, coiffure and cosmetics from the Vedic period to the Gupta age. I am drawing specific attention to them for the reason that the terms which have been clearly identified and assessed therein should now be adopted and introduced in our art books. The restoration of Indian art terminology is the condition precedent for the proper understanding of Indian art motifs, patterns and forms. The specialised texts are awaiting authoritative editing, even the *Vishṇudharmottara* chapters on iconography and the *Citrasūtra* chapters on painting require fresh examination, and these studies are bound to remain incomplete unless correlated with actual example. The *Vishṇudharmottara* refers to Bhairava with round eyes (*vṛtta-locana*), protruding teeth (*daṁshṭrā-karāla vadana*) and broad nostrils *phulla-nāsāpuṭa*). In a terracotta image of Bhairava from the Śiva temple at Ahichchhatrā I found these three features holding good. In the case of the Sun images, Varāhamihira refers to his girdle as *avyaṅga* (*Bṛihatsamhitā*. Ch. 58. 57) and the same is mentioned in the *Vishṇudharmottara* as *yāviyāṅgā* (Ch. 67. 3), which are only attempts to render into Sanskrit the Parsi girdle called *aivyaoñhan*. We have before us a good quantity of terminological material to be evaluated and cleared up.

A third fruitful source of art terminology is the oral tradition. If properly tapped, much useful material could be got out of it. It is illustrated by the list of 'Some Art and Archaeological Terms' published by me in the Museums Journal, and in a much more comprehensive way in Dr. Moti Chandra's work on the Technique of Mughal Painting, in which several hundreds of painting terms were obtained from Ustad Ram Prasad at Banaras, who was the last surviving painter of the Mughal school in that city.

A typological study and classification of Indian clay figurines might be mentioned as another possible source of cultural material unsurpassed for its range and variety. The clay figurines present as it were an inventory of the types of men and women in the several walks of society in a particular period. We find among them types not only of gods and goddesses, but kings and courtiers, domestic servants, warriors and palace attendants, monks and nuns, horse-riders and elephant keepers, hunters and gamesmen, dwarfs and acrobatic figures etc. The toy figurines provide material relating to children's art in ancient India, and this line of approach should also be explored further.

The study and interpretation of Indian art is pregnant with possibilities for our coming cultural renaissance. Art is primarily concerned with beautiful forms. True art-feeling is not merely an intellectual operation, but it is an aesthetic shock or *Saṁvega*. As a nation the Indians were once the citizens of a beautiful world of forms. The last two centuries disenfranchised us from that heritage and tradition. An inroad of exotic forms affected all spheres of Indian life and our own motifs and forms of painting, sculpture, decorative designs, architecture, furniture, dress, even our flowers, household utensils, music, dance and drama, etc. suffered heavily, retreating under the fire of aggressive European vogues and fashions. India's struggle for Sva-rājya can only be interpreted as a struggle of her soul to rehabilitate herself in her own forms of life and culture. Sva-rājya must mean a cultural rebirth. With the dawn of Independence the destiny of Indian culture must be fulfilled once again and the national soul must reassert itself. For this revolution some great symbolical gesture must descend on our cultural world. In the words of the Ṛigveda, the old and the new generations have to enkindle the flame of knowledge and culture. Potent signs of the coming revival are visible on all sides of us. The people and the Government must make an earnest and combined endeavour towards this end. But much depends on the people's will to attain their cultural rehabilitation. The Dharmachakra has become our natural symbol through a prophetic decision of rare wisdom. The Dharmachakra must be understood by a modern mind as the Wheel of Culture. This Dharmachakra must revolve steadily both in space and time, imparting a new tone, quality and richness to life's manifold manifestations under the Indian sky. May the Goddess of Beauty lead to this fulfilment.

13. Presidential Address: Marathi (XIV)

BY DR. Y. K. DESPANDE, M.A., LL.B., DITT.

1. Introductory.—Learned brothers and sisters. I thought it my duty to accept the call to preside over the Marathi section of the Conference, taking it to be honour conferred on me by the Executive Council, though I fully knew of my inabilities and drawbacks. I was encouraged to consent, fully believing that the scholars assembled here will co-operate with me in making the section successful.

A.—My association with three great scholars.—Though I do not claim to be a scholar, I had the good fortune to associate in my college days with three great persons who in after-life distinguished themselves as eminent scholars of international repute.

(1) M. M. Dr. P. V. Kane.—The first and foremost of them is M. M. Dr. P. V. Kane, our revered chairman of the Reception Committee and Vice-Chancellor of the Bombay University. I had the honour of being his student for the first two years of my college career when he was Dakshina Prize Fellow in the Wilson College of Bombay. In my after life also, he is watching with sympathy, and encouraging me in my activities, humble as they are, in the field of researches in History and Marathi literature.

(2) Dr. P. D. Gune.—Another scholar, with whom I had the honour to work in my college days, was Dr. P. D. Gune. Unfortunately he passed away in his prime of life. He was senior to me by one year but both of us appeared for the M.A. examination in the same year i.e. in 1906, he with Sanskrit as his special subject and myself with Marathi, English being common to us both. He was a great help to me for preparing English subject.

(3) Dr. S. V. Ketkar.—The third scholar, who had distinguished himself for his extraordinary scholarship, was Dr. S. V. Ketkar. Untimely death of his also was a great loss to the Marathi language and literature. We were intimate companions for three years in the Amraoti High School and were close friends and fellow students for four years in the Wilson College of Bombay. Our friendship continued till he was snatched away from us by his untimely death.

(4) Dr. Ketkar as President of Marathi section of the Baroda session.—One more thing I remember, today, with respect to the memory of Dr. Ketkar. The chair, which I have the privilege to occupy today, was honoured by Dr. S. V. Ketkar, in 1933 at the Baroda session of the Oriental Conference. I happened to be present there at the session and he had honoured me by calling upon to address the meeting on the subject of my fresh researches in the Mahanubhava literature.

With due respect to M. M. Dr. P. V. Kane and to the happy memory of my last two departed friends, I now begin my present address.

2. The formation of the Marathi language.—The first and foremost subject, towards which I wish to draw the attention of the scholars of the Marathi language, is its formation. There are various theories put forth by the Western as well as Indian scholars. But systematic study and researches have not been made as yet as regards the material available in Maharashtra from the period of Ashoka to the period of the Jadhavas of Deogiri in whose regime the distinguished works of Dnyaneshwar were compiled. Several inscriptions of the Ashokan period, in Prakrit language, had been found in Maharashtra and in its environments. So also hundreds of inscriptions of the Satavahan period and also belonging to the subsequent dynasties have been published and are available for study. The stone inscriptions and the copper plate grants, when not in Samskrit, are generally inscribed in the language which could be understood by the general public. A comparative study of these writings in chronological order would enlighten us about the development of the language. The works like Gatha Saptashati, which is a collection of gathas compiled by several poets of different period, would also help in prosecuting the study on the said line. Day by day new material is coming to light to help the study of the language. I had the honour of bringing to light an earliest copper plate grant of the Vakatakas who were the immediate successors of the Satavahanas in Maharashtra. I had read a paper on this grant with discussion on the language of the text in the session of the All India History Congress held at Calcutta and it is published in the proceedings of that session. My friend M. M. V. V. Mirashi has edited the grant in the issue of the Epigrapia Indica. This is the only grant of the Vakatakas, which is written, except the introductory portion, in the language other than Samskrit. The grant belongs to the latter portion of the 3rd century A. D. and the first portion of the 4th century A.D. Comparative study will show that the language of this grant is further development on the language of the Prakrit of Vararuchi and that of the inscriptions of the Satavahan period.

B.—To have an idea of the language of the said grant which was issued from Vatsagulma, the present Basim town in Berar, ancient Vidarbha or Maharashtra, I quote some 12 lines from the grant.

6. āmhehi

7. dāṇi āpuṇo-vijaya-vejayike āyū-bala-vaddhaṇike swasti-

8. śaṅti-vācane ihāmuttike dhammatthāne etthad-grāme ādhivvanika-cara-

9. ṇassa āddhaka xxxx

15. Patehi dohi Bhālandāyaṇa-sagottesi Buddhajesi Kosika-sagottesi

16. Bhāṭṭilajjesi Kosika-sagottesi Sivajjesi Kosika-sagottesi

17. Hariṇṇajjesitti xxxxxe etena Bāmhaṇāṇa bhāgātiṇṇā

24. jato upaṛi li-

25. khita sāsaṇa cādamyamāṇa karettā rakkhadha rakkhāpedhaya parihāradha.

26. parihārāpedhaya jovu ābādham karejjā kartavvya aṇumaṇṇati

27. tissa etehi upari-likhitehi bāmhaṇehi parikuvite sadanḍa-

28. ka nigraha karejjāmetti.

B. The language of the above grant appears to be later than the Mahārāshṭri of the Vararuchi's grammar. It is also decidedly after the Mahārāshṭri of the Gāthā Saptashati of Hāla. The Setubandha poem, which is some what later than the present grant, is also in literary Prakrit in other than the language of the grant. As we find some deviations from the rules of Vararuchi's grammar and also traces of peculiarities of Shauraseni and Paiśāchi languages in some of the words of the language of the grant, one is inclined to consider it as a colloquial language of the time prevalent amongst the people, the grant being intended to be understood by the common people. It is but natural that a colloquial language should adopt the peculiarities of other languages on account of intercourse between different countries speaking different languages. As the record was found in Berar, the ancient Vidarbha, its language would be useful to trace the earlier stage of development of Marathi, the language of the locality. As for example, Sivajja, Deajja are intermediatory forms of the Samskrit words Shivārya, Devārya and on the other hand of the Marathi words Shivaji and Devaji. In Maharashtri the genitive serves the purpose of dative. The form of genitive of sagotta would be sagottassa in Maharashtri but the genitive form for sagotta used in this grant is sagottesi. It therefore appears that this esi form is the same as the dative form found in Dnyaneshwari and other 13th century works in Marathi, and is the original of the sa form which is found in the current Marathi language. The scholars have been long in doubt about the origin of this affix. Some derived it from the Prakrit affix ssa but Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar does not hold this view as he points out that the sa affix is not found in old Marathi works which throughout use the affix si. Other origins for this affix sa have been suggested. Dr. Bhandarkar traced it to the Samskrit word sama and V. K. Rajwade to āsa (meaning near). In many places si has been used as dative form in the present grant. It therefore leaves no doubt that this si or esi is the real parent of the sa form which is current in the modern Marathi.

From the above discussion, it will be seen that the comparative study of the ancient records will be helpful to trace the origin and history of the words of the current language and to solve the doubtful points.

In this connection, I take the liberty to note a word of caution to the scholars that the inscriptions on stone and copper published previously should not be utilised for comparative study of languages unless the published reading is checked from the original or from its facsimile and the reading is found to be correct or if it is found incorrect unless it is corrected. The Western and the Indian scholars of the past have rendered yeoman's service by deciphering these inscriptions and by publishing them. By experience it is found that the reading also has, some time, found to be defective.

3. Study of the formation and development of the Marathi language—To trace the history of the formation and further development of a language, it is necessary to study the original records of the different periods either on stone and copper or even on paper and palmleaf. For this purpose the printed works or even the manuscript copies, prepared subsequent to the time of the author, are likely to be misleading. Only the manuscript, in the handwriting of the author or written in his time, would be considered reliable to represent the language of the period. Many times we come across the accidental or even intentional changes in a copied manuscript.

Western scholars like Jules Bloch, Sir Grierson and Indian scholars like Dr. Bhandarkar, Dr. Gune and V. K. Rajwade have made original researches about the formation of Marathi language. Pro. Kulkarni's work, in consolidating the researches of other scholars into one volume is noteworthy. As an humble student of the Marathi history, I take the liberty to state that an exhaustive and authoritative history of the formation of the Marathi language is yet to be written.

4. Study of the dialects of Marathi.—I now turn to the study of the dialects of the Marathi language. Though there is one standard language of literature or the language of speech for the educated people is common, the colloquial language of the general public has different variations in the different parts or localities. These differences are due to various causes, the principal among them being the distance from one other and the influence of the neighbouring languages. Thus it is inevitable for every language to have several dialects. These dialects also have influence over the common language of the educated people. Many times they appear to have encroached upon the writings of the authors residing in that particular locality. Many times question arises as to whether a particular language is a dialect of any other or is an independent language and it becomes very difficult even for a scholar to give decision unless he makes a critical and comparative study of both the languages.

Marathi has got several dialects in Maharashtra and also in other parts of India where the Maratha people have settled, such as Saugor, Central India and Tanjore. The intonations and pronunciations also, many times, differ in different localities. It is therefore necessary to have a critical and comparative study of these dialects in comparison with one another and with the standard language.

(2) One such instance is that of Konkani language which has got also different variations due to locality, community and proximity or influence of other languages. Even amongst the scholars there is difference of opinion about its relationship with the Marathi language. There is a set of scholars who profess Konkani to be an independent language, while many scholars advocate it to be a dialect of Marathi language. A thorough critical and comparative study has yet to be made with regard to these two languages. Dr. S. M. Katre carried on researches in Konkani language and valuable results of his study can be read in the back volumes of the Journal of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute. In the volumes of the Linguistic Survey of India peculiarities of several dialects of Marathi have been noted. The scholars, carrying on survey, had doubt about one or two languages. Halbi dialect on

the border of Orissa and Dangi and Ahirani dialects on the border of Gujarat are the instances about which the surveying scholars had to take decision on investigation. These questions, some time, are brought to prominence on account of over-enthusiasm or with some ulterior motive. It is only the critical and comparative study of these dialects that will settle these questions. The scholars have vast field for research as regards the dialects of Marathi language, in the matter of relations of these dialects with one another or with the standard Marathi language. Stray attempts have been made by scholars as regards Berari, Ahirani, Saugori and Bundelkhandi dialects. These attempts are noteworthy but thorough and systematic researches are yet to be made.

5. Comparative study of the Indo-Aryan languages in the light of Marathi.—Comparative study of the Indo Aryan languages in relation with Marathi will be very useful for the history of the formation of Marathi language. Long before 1880 Beemes has written a Comparative Grammar of the modern Aryan languages of India and Hoernle has compiled Comparative Grammar of the Guadian languages. Dr. Jules Bloch, the welknown author of De la langue Maratte has published his work on the Indo Aryan languages in 1920. This can be said to be the first work on the comparative study of the Indo-Aryan languages dealing with the subject historically. Etymological Dictionary of Nepali language by Dr. Turner, the history of the Bengali language by Dr. S. M. Chatterji and his various papers on several Indian languages, articles of Dr. S. M. Katre on Konkani language and his subsequent articles, are some of the works on the comparative study of the Indo-Aryan languages. The volumes of Linguistic survey of India also deal with this subject. These works which were based on the linguistics, that came into existance during the last century in Europe, will be a great help in prosecuting the study to find out the exact relationship of these languages with Marathi and how far they were influenced by one another.

6. Influence of the Dravidian languages on Marathi.—Marathi is the principal Indo-Aryan language with which the Dravidian languages especially the Telegu and Kanarse have proximity, Maharashtra being the Northern neighbour of the Andhra and Karnatak countries. These countries have intercommunication with one another since even before the formation of the Marathi language. Ancient political history shows that Maharashtra had dominating influence over the Dravidian countries for several centuries and Andhra and Karnataka also had political sway over some parts of Maharashtra some time or other. Oneness of culture and religion, and social intercourse between Maharashtra and the Dravidian countries resulted into strong influence of the Dravidian languages on Marathi and vice versa. It is very paying to study the mutual influences of these languages of different stocks upon one another. Bishop Caldwel, who wrote the grammar of these Dravidian languages in the early days of the British rule, has made beginning of this study. Alfred Master, retired member of the Indian Civil Service, has noted the result of his investigations in his articles on "some parallellisms in Indo Aryans and Dravidians with special reference to Marathi Gujarati and Kanarese" in the journal of the B. B. R. A. society in 1932. V. K. Rajwade and in recent time Prof. C. V. Joshi have tried to show Dravidian influences on Marathi with special references to the study of Dnyaneshwari, famous work of the 13th century. For this purpose the Marathi verses in the Life of Basava written in Telegu, just 40 years after his death, in the 11th century or

the verses in the work Abhilashitartha Chintamani of Smeshwar Cyalukya of somewhat later period in the same century, so also the original Marathi records belonging to several centuries, will be helpful for study of the influence of the Dravidian languages on the Marathi language. Much is yet to be done by the scholars of Marathi in this branch of study.

7. Influence of Other Non-Aryan languages on Marathi.—Lexicographers like Hemchandra, have left many words as deshi, as they could not be traced to their mother language. Some of these words have, since, been found to be of Samskrit origin. There are even now in Maharashtra including Vidarbha people of several Non-Aryan races speaking languages of the Munda stock and dialects of the Dravidian stock. Korkus of Melghat in Berar and Kolams and Gonds of Berar and of the jungles of the Nizam's state come under the other stock. Some efforts have been made by Mr. Wills and Dr. Hemindorff with regards to the Gondi language. Dictionary and grammar of the Gondi language has been prepared but as yet no attempt has been made for the Kolami language. There is very little progress in the field of researches in the Korku language. Some missionaries have published translation of some portions of Bible in 1900 and 1911 in Korku language but in Deonagari script. Korkus have no script of their own and hence they have no written literature. But they possess rich folklore. Mr. D. B. Mahajan, a member of Sharadashram, has collected many folk songs of theirs and has published some of them with Marathi translation, explaining some of the Korku words He has begun study of that language to find out its relation with Marathi language. He is in correspondence with Dr. F. B. J. Kuiper, professor of Samskrit in Leiden University in Holland. Dr. Kuiper is investigating Munda words in Samskrit language and his work is shortly to be published. It appears that this language has got very little influence on the Marathi language as it has got no written literature, and its use is restricted only to the Korkus who reside in the hilly jungles. But for want of researches it is too early to estimate as to how far this language influenced the Marathi language. It is however expected that, after thorough researches, it will be possible to estimate the mutual influences and also it will be possible to trace the origin of some of the deshi words which have been left as untraceable.

8. Early works in Marathi.—We now come to Marathi language after it is formed. It is not possible to give a definite period when it was formed. A language continuously developes itself as a river has a continuous flow, many times the origin being untraceable. Like a river a language also receives strength from the languages which come in contact with it. For the purpose of investigation, we have therefore to imagine stops at certain transitory periods. Traces of Marathi language could be obtained from the Marathi verses in the works of other languages and the scholars have brought to light inscriptions from the 6th to the 13th century from which we can study the early stages of its formation and development. There is ample material for the study of the Marathi language for the 12th and 13th century in the works of Mukundraj, Dnyaneshwar and his contemporary saints. The scholars have brought to light some other authors of that period. We have got literature of the period compiled by the followers of the Mahanubhao sect, who had begun writing in Marathi only few years before Dnyaneshwari. Many scholars have devoted time for the study of the Marathi literature of that time, which is identical with the time of the Yadavas of Deogiri. Many scholars have edited the works

of the Mahanubhavas of that period. Many editions of the works of Mukundraj and Dnyaneshwar have been uptil now published. The edition of Dnyaneshwari edited by V. K. Rajwade appears to be copied from the yet known earliest Ms. Dr. Harshe has published a volume on the study of the first chapter of Dnyaneshwari, taking the Ms. on which he based his study to be the earliest Ms. There is difference of opinion amongst the scholars as regards the age of the Ms. Dr. V. B. Kolte has published a series of articles to refute the oldness of the Ms. It may not be as old as it is professed to be. But the language of the Ms. is decidedly older. The printed editions of Viveksindhu have its language modernised. Old mss. of the work are not available. In fact Mss. older than three centuries have not yet been found. An unique ms. of Vivekasindhu, which is in the collection of Sharadashram, Yeotmal, bears language much earlier than the language of other Mss. available. Unfortunately the ms. does not bear any date. It is an urgent need to prepare an authoritative edition of Vivekasindhu, taking into consideration all the mss. available. Prof. K. P. Kulkarni as a director of the Marathi research association as a branch of the Marathi Granth Sangrahalaya of Bombay has begun the work. He has collected several mss. from various placess; the Ms. in Sharadashram has also been lent to the association for the purpose. It is expected, by his efforts, an authentic edition as far as possible, nearer to the language of the author, will be prepared.

9. Study of the literature of the period of the Yadavas.—Many Mahanubhava works have been edited on the basis of a single ms., as no other mss. of the work were then available. Some of the works have later on been edited by collecting two or more mss. Many of the scholars have worked on the literature of the 12th and 13th century, which period is identical with the period of the Yadavas of Deogiri. V. K. Rajwade has done the pioneer service by writing his historical grammar of Dnyaneshwari. Pro. Kulkarni also has given his study of the language of the period in his well known work on the formation and development of Marathi language. Dr. V. B. Kolte and Shri H. N. Nene have noted the grammatical and other peculiarities of the Marathi language in the editions of the Mahanubhaviya works. The thesis of Dr. Tulpule on the study of the Marathi language of the period of the Yadavas is also noteworthy and is helpful to the student who desires to study the language of the period. Maharashtra Saraswata of Shri Bhave and the volumes of the history of the Marathi literature prepared by L. R. Pangarkar are useful for the study of the Marathi literature from the earliest period to the 17th century.

10. So called dark period in the Marathi literature.—The period of nearly three centuries, from the death of Dnyaneshwar up to the period of Eknath, was generally considered as dark period in the Marathi literature. It was the period of the loss of independance of Maharashtra and the advent and sway by the Mahomedans from the Northern India. It was no doubt a period when Maharashtra received a set back and the culture, religion and literature of Maharashtra were dominated by foreign elements. But the efforts of research scholars have brought to light vast Marathi literature that was compiled during that period. It was however to the credit of Eknath that he followed Dnyaneshwar in bringing out Puranas and philosophic treatises which were uptil now in Samskrit, in Marathi that is the language of the common people. It has been recorded that he had to face the displeasure of the

pundits of Samskrit in the beginning. He was however followed, by subsequent Marathi writers and vast literature has been rendered in Marathi from Samskrit during the next two or three centuries.

11. Maharashtra under the Mahomedan rule.—Maharashtra was under the grip of the Mahomedans for a long period of nearly six centuries. Persian and Arabic, which were the languages of the Mahomedans, had an influence on the language of the people. Many words and phrases were introduced in colloquial Marathi language of the people as they were the languages of the ruling community, while the Marathi literature was almost free from their influence as they had no direct connection with that literature. There were terrible atrocities committed against the Hindus and their religion by the Mahomedans but they had not followed the policy of extirpating the religion out and out. The religion and its literature, therefore, survived even after the heartless rule of theirs, for so many centuries.

12. Literature of Maharashtra during the period of the Maratha ascendancy —During the early period of the rule of the Marathas, great persons, like Ramdas, were born to prepare the ground for the rule of the people in Maharashtra. Dasabodha, the national work of Ramdas preaches the Maharashtra dharma which proved to be the uniting factor for the people of Maharashtra. The principles advocated in the work are useful for all the periods and are not restricted to any particular time. During the period of the Maratha rule, Samskrit works like Śivabharat and Rajyavyavahār kosha which throw light on the cultural history of the time, were compiled. The writings of the saint poets of the period and other comtemporary works in Marathi throw light on the religious and cultural revival of the time. Some of the works compiled during the period are being brought to light, for the first time, by the efforts of the scholars.

During the same period were compiled the balads, in the language of the people, which took the message of independance to the lowest rung of the society and infused the spirit of valour among them. So also the bakhar literature came into existance during that period and it described the events which led to the freedom of Maharashtra from the Mahomedan rule.

13. Portuguese influence on the Marathi literature.—Of all the European nations, who had first commercial and then political connection with India, the Portuguese nation was the first and foremost. With the political power they extended the religious sway also. They used the political power to spread the Christian faith in the Indian territory under their rule. The history of the spread of the Christian faith in the Goa territory is full of sad events. There was a terrible mass conversion. Village after village and caste after caste was converted forcibly against the will of the people. Hindu scriptures and religious literature were collected and destroyed. Temples were razed to ground and Christian churches were built on their sites. It became impossible for the Hindus to stay as Hindus in the territory on account of the rigidity of the rules of Inquisition. It was for the use of such converts that the Christian literature was rendered into the Indian vernaculars. The Christa purana compiled by Father Stephen, an English Jesuit in Marathi ovi is one of the principal works. It was in the 17th century that three editions of that work were printed and published in Goa. Several European Jesuits followed

Father Stephen and composed in the period various scriptures in Marathi, Konkani and Kanarese. These Marathi works, by Europeans in the 17th cenutry, are no doubt very valuable, but the compilation of theirs has got very sad history behind it. This can never be forgotten.

Prof. A. K. Priyolkar has brought to light vast Marathi literature of the Christians of the period. It was in Roman script. Though it was compiled by European Jesuits, it has got a place in Marathi literature.

14. Advent of the British rule and its influence on the Marathi literature.—Though the British rule commenced in Maharashtra since 1818, after the fall of the Peshva rule, its influence had begun to work long before that. It was Sharfoji Bhonsle of Tanjawar, who started a printing press in his palace and commenced printing Marathi works as far back as 1808. About 1800 A.D. the English felt the necessity for the British officers to learn Marathi as some parts speaking Marathi came under their rule and they expected to possess large territory, so they made arrangement for teaching Marathi in the Fort William College of Calcutta. Dr. Carey of the Shrirampur Mission was in its charge and Baijnath Pandit of Nagpur was his assistant. Dr. Carey wrote a Marathi grammar in English in 1804 and he printed and published Marathi translation of some portions of Bible in Balbodhi and Modi script at that period in Calcutta. Baijnath pandit also composed and published two or three works in Marathi in Nagpuri Marathi dialect for the use of the students of the Fort William college mainly. After the organisation of the Native education society by the Bombay Government, Marathi books were being written and published mainly for the purpose of spreading education in Maharashtra. Thus an impetus was given for imparting education amongst the people of Maharashtra, though with a view to create machinery of the Government servants of the higher and lower grade for faithfully carrying on the administration on the line laid down by the Government to the advantage of the British people. Whatever may be the motive for the spread of education, we can not deny that it had done immense good to the people though the system was disadvantageous to the people as a national education. Pioneer authors of the Marathi works, during the early period of the British rule in Maharashtra, were eminent persons like Bapu Kashinath Chhatre, Balsastri Jambheker, Dadoba Pandurang, Parasharampamt Godbole etc. They opened a new era in the Marathi literature. Even the Marathi works compiled in that period show the Western influence on Marathi language. The establishment of the Bombay University in 1850 opened a new field for the study of English language and literature. As the people received education through English and studied higher literature, they began to realise the advantage of free nations and felt the disadvantages of a foreign rule. The organisation of the Indian Congress and the political movements in strictly constitutional ways, brought political-mindedness in the people and the notion of India as a politically one nation was brought home to the people. Publication of newspapers and periodicals, which was one of the boons from the British rule to the Indian people, turned out to be the best means to spread the political ideas amongst the people. Power of organisation and faithful adherence to the leaders created political strength in the people. Ultimately the growing power of these organisation and the critical situation in the international world resulted into handing over of the administration of the Government of India by the British to the people of India.

Without taking any survey, I only note that Marathi literature, as well as the literature of the other Indian languages, has made immense progress in all its branches during the period of the British rule in India, and the vernaculars of the several provinces were enriched.

15. Knotty problems before the scholars to be solved.—We are now free from the yoke of foreign rule. Since then several knotty points of international and interprovincial nature have arisen and the minds of the leaders have been engrossed in their solution. We, who have got Marathi as our language, are not free from anxieties. Apart from the question of the national language of India, which must be the language of the majority of the people and which is already a language of intercourse between different parts of India, we Maharashtrians have our own problems to solve. As the people of Maharashtra including Berar have Marathi as their language of speech and literature, they should naturally desire to have Marathi as the language of the administration of their province. They will not brook the predominence of any other language in their internal affairs and any such attempt will have to be met with strong protest. When the question of actual formation of the linguistic provinces will be taken in hand it is likely that it will be very difficult to demarcate the boundaries between the two provinces. The scholars of both the languages will have to meet together and settle the point without any preconceived idea, basing their decision on the linguistic and scientific data. The question of Bombay is another knotty point, the solution of which is likely to create tension. Historical evidence, from the early age right upto the modern period, conclusively proves that the island of Bombay is included in the territorial part of Maharashtra. No motive should prevail in excluding it from Maharashtra. It would be different thing to treat it as a separate entity for an administrative purpose as an integral part of Maharashtra.

16. Conclusion.—Dear brothers and sisters. I have purposely avoided to take survey of the modern language and literature which I consider to be beyond the scope of the scholars orientalist, and it is the legitimate province of the Maharashtra Sahitya Parishad. As a student of Marathi language and literature, I have traced almost all the points I desired to bring to the notice of the scholars assembled here.

I am thankful to you for giving patient hearing for what I wanted to state before you. I am confident that you will consider coolly what suggestions I have ventured to make. My efforts will be amply repaid if any attempts are made on those lines.

With this concluding request I close my speech.

14. Presidential Address : Gujarati Section (XV)

By Dr. K. M. Munshi, B. A., LL. B., D. Litt.

Ancient Gurjardeśa and Its Literature (550 A. D.—950 A. D.)

I thank the Executive Committee of the Oriental Conference for the honour that they have done me by calling upon me to preside over this Section of the Conference. On this occasion I want to speak on the language and literature in ancient Gujarāt, i.e., Gurjaradeśa. To my mind, it is a fascinating subject and throws considerable light on the history of Early India. This ancient age dates from 550 A.D., the fall of the Gupta Empire, to 950 A.D. when the Kanauj Empire of Gurjara Pratihāras—Imperial Gurjaras as I have called them—was dissolved. As pointed out by me in detail in *Imperial Gurjaras*, during this age Gujarāt, if we mean by it the present Gujarātī-speaking tract inclusive of the mainland, Saurāshṭra and Cutch, had no distinct entity of its own.

I

Sufficient materials are now available to show that this age was not a dark one but as powerful, though not as brilliant, as the classical age of the Guptas. Īśānavarman made Kanauj the capital of North India in 550 A.D. Its all-India suzerainty was recognised till Mahmud Ghazni destroyed it in 1018 A.D. And more, it was the literary and cultural capital of the whole country. Many of the regions now comprised in modern Gujarāt were either parts of the empire of Kanauj or under its influence. Their literary and cultural activities were naturally, therefore, an integral part of the life and culture which the metropolis radiated.

Emperor Skandagupta appears to have lost Gujarāt a few years after the date of his Girnar inscription (A.D. 456). With the death of his descendant, Budhagupta, in c. 500 A.D., the power and glory of the Gupta Empire vanished. Whatever was left of it was split into two sectors, viz. the Western, consisting of Mālwā and Avanti and the Eastern, comprising Magadha and North Bengal. A considerable part of modern Gujarāt formed part of the Western section. The Gupta emperors maintained a military Governor in Ānartapura (Vadnagar) in North Gujarāt and at Bhṛigukachchha (Broach), which then included parts of modern North Konkan.

About 465 A.D. the Hūṇas under Toramāṇa entered India, first established themselves at Pavaiya in the Punjab, and finally reached Ujjayinī (c. 500). The then ruler of Mālwā, whose sway extended over central Gujarāt, was forced to retire to Bengal before the overwhelming might of the Hūṇa conqueror. About 512 A.D. Mihirakula, the son of Toramāṇa, was the most powerful ruler in North-West India. But in c. 520 A.D. he was defeated by Yaśodhar man Vishṇuvardhana, and in 533 A.D. Mālwā was governed by his military governor. In 550 A.D. Īśānavarman overthrew the descendants of Vishṇuvardhana, made Kanauj the imperial capital, and became the unchallenged master of North India. A considerable part of the main land of Gujarāt was included in the kingdom of Śarvavarman, the son Īśānavarman.

On the break-up of the Gupta Empire, Senāpati Bhaṭṭārka, a rebel general of the empire, declared independence and ruled over the kingdom consisting of Saurāshṭra and a part of Ānarta from his capital Valabhīpura, modern Vala. His descendants also acquired a part of the main land of Gujarāt. In about 550 A.D. Śaṅkargaṇa, the king of the Kalachuri dynasty, whose kingdom included the valley of the Mahi river and Lāṭa, drove out Saṅgrāmasiṁha, the last viceroy of the Guptas ruling at Bhṛigukachchha, and appointed a Bhil king as a feudatory to rule over the valley of the Narmadā.

About this time, a Brāhmaṇa by name Harichandra, who claimed to be a Pratihāra, founded a small kingdom at Bhillamāla or modern Śrīmāla near Abu, and ruled over the region round the mount and part of Mārwār which was then called 'Gurjara' or 'Gurjaradeśa.' Harichandra and his descendants soon grew powerful, and in about 580 A.D. Dadda, perhaps the fourth son of Harichandra, invaded Lāṭa, defeated the Bhil feudatory and extended his rule to the Narmadā valley. Thus the Gurjara kings of Śrīmāla conquered south Gujarāt and weakened the power of Valabhī as also of the Kalachuri kings of Mālwā. The Gurjara kings appear to have extended their conquests even in the north and about 600 A.D. fought Prabhākaravardhana, the king of Thāneswar and the father of emperor Śrī Harsha.

About this time Dhakshiṇāpatha or Deccan was also evolving a consolidated centre of power. About 550 A.D. Pulakeśī of the Chālukya family captured Vātāpī, modern Badami in the Bijāpur District of the Province of Bombay, and founded a kingdom. His son invaded Mālwā in 601 A.D. In 606 A.D. Śrī Harsha, or to give him his full title Śrī Harshavardhana, became the emperor of the Uttarāpatha. Two years later, in 608 A.D., Pulakeśī II succeeded to the throne of Vātāpī, and Konkan, Lāṭa, Gurjara and Mālwā became victims of rivalry between the emperors of the North and the South. The kings of Valabhīpura and the Gurjara kings of Broach retained some kind of independence and Śrī Harsha gave his daughter in marriage to Dhruvabhaṭa or Dhruvasena II, the king of Valabhīpura. Jayabhaṭa and Dadda II, the Gurjara kings of Broach, were under the protection of Pulakeśī II, the Chālukya emperor of the South.

Luckily the picture of the seventh century Gujarāt has survived in the diary of an eye witness, Hiuen Tsang the great Chinese pilgrim, who visited Gujarāt in 641 A.D. The traveller went from Ṇāsik to the region called Bhṛigukachchha, the name by which evidently south Gujarāt was then known. As in all international ports, so in Broach, the residents were found by this pious pilgrim mean, deceitful, ignorant, orthodox and heterodox. North of the Broach district was Mālwā with its capital of the same name somewhere on the south bank of the river Mahi. There were hundreds of Buddhist monasteries in the land, and of the Buddhist bhikshus, Bhadraruchi was the greatest. The present Ahmedābād district was possibly called Atālī, which I am inclined to identify with Ashlālī, a village near Ahmedābād.

From there the pilgrim went to Kheṭaka, which may be either modern Kaira or Khedbrahmā near Idar, and thence to Valabhīpura. It was then ruled by Dhruvabhaṭa, the son-in-law of Śrī Harsha.

Valabhīpura was a city of power, wealth and culture. It had a large library of sacred books. Sthiramati and Guṇamati, two Buddhist monks, had composed their treatises in its university. Their fame had reached even China and in consequence they had been invited there. The country was happy and prosperous and its merchants carried on extensive commercial activity. The population was dense ; religious institutions flourished. More than a hundred merchants were worth over a lakh. Rare and valuable articles secured from distant places were amassed by rich men.

Ānarta with its capital at Ānandapura, was another important town. From there the pilgrim proceeded to Bhillamāla or Śrīmāla, the capital of Gujjara. It was a city of learning. According to the Puranic records it was ten to twenty miles extent and had no less than 11,000 Śivalingas and 4,000 maṭhs where learning in all its branches was pursued.[1] Bhillamāla evidently was a great centre of Aryan culture and learning in the 7th century.

The whole of Gujarāt was well populated. The large cities were Ujjayinī Bhillamāla, Verāvala, Valabhī and Mālava, while Broach, Āśāpalli, Kheṭaka, Ānandapura were comparatively small. They were all centres of learning. The Sābarmati valley was a well-populated locality. In south Gujarāt, Jambusar, Akrūreśvara (modern Ankleshwar), Śrībhavana (modern Sarbhon) and Navasārikā (modern Navsāri) were towns of importance.

South Gujarāt was ruled by the feudatories of Pulakeśī II, who had defeated the armies of Śrī Harsha of Kanauj.

II

With the early kingdom of Gujjara or Gurjara are associated important questions relating to Indian history.

A detailed examination of the earliest epigraphic and literary records yields certain notable facts.

About 550 A.D. Gurjara was the name of modern Mārwār with Bhillamāla or Śrīmāla as capital. Its kings were called Gurjaras and Gurjareśvaras. One dynasty claimed descent from Harichandra, a Brāhmaṇa, another from Lakshmaṇa, the brother of Śrī Rāmachandra[2]. In 640 A.D., this region was called Gujjar and its king was known to be a Kshatriya. When these Gurjara kings took Kānyakubja and founded an empire it was known to Arab travellers as Juzr or Gujjar[3]. The extent of this empire included parts of the Punjab, Rajputana, Central India and Gujarāt which were ruled by warrior clans which came out of Gurjara. Parts of modern Jodhpur, Jaipur and the Abu region, were known as Gurjaratrā or Gujarāt till 1050 A.D. The people migrating from this part of the country were also known as Gurjaras. In 960 A.D. these Gurjaras occupied parts of Alwar. The Gurjara herdsmen in Kāshmir and Hindukush use a language which is similar to Mevatī and closely allied to Mārwāḍī. There is no evidence to prove that Gurjar Gauḍa Brāhmaṇas, the Śrīmāla Brāhmaṇas, the Porvāḍs and Osvāls, who were once classed as Kshatriyas, were of foreign extraction.

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[1] cf. *Kāvyānuśāsana* (Edited by Athavale and Parikh), II, intr., pp. XCI-XCIII.

[2] cf. Jodhpur Inscription of Pratihāra Bāuka (*JRA*, 1894, pp. 4-9), st. 5 : Gwalior Praśasti of Mihirabhoja (Ep. Ind., XVIII, pp. 107-114), st. 3 :

विप्रः श्रीहरिचन्द्रारव्यः पत्नी भद्रा च क्षत्रिया ।
ताभ्यां तु ये सुता जाताः प्रतिहारांश्च तान् विदुः ॥५॥
तेषां वंशे सुजन्मा क्रमनिहितपदे धाम्नि वज्रेषु घोरं
रामः पौलस्त्यहिंश्रं क्षतविहितस मित्कर्मं चक्रे पलाशैः ।
श्लाघ्यस्तस्यानुजोऽसौ मघवमुदमुषो मेघनादस्य संरव्ये
सौमित्रिस्तीव्रदण्डः प्रतिहरणविधेर्यः प्रतीहार आसीत् ॥३॥

According to the theory accepted by some authorities, however, the Gurjaras were of a foreign race which entered India c. 400-500 A.D. ; they took kindly to Indian culture ; founded the kingdom of Gurjaratrā ; accepted the Hindu caste system ; conquered Ānarta and Lāṭa in c. 700 A.D. ; subdued the Valabhī kings in c. 750 A.D. ; and abandoned Bhillamāla in c. 953 A.D. to go and settle in Ānarta, and to make their chief Mūlarāja, king of Aṇahilāvāḍa Paṭṭana.

The word Gurjara, no doubt, does not appear before c. 500 A.D. The names of some of the early rulers are non-Sanskritic. There was a Caucasus tribe called Khajars, the sound of which is similar to Gurjaras. But the theory does not quite accord with the records. Its Brāhmaṇas, Kshatriyas, and Vaiśyas are found fully absorbed in the fold of Ārya Dharma. The tradition of the Gurjara rulers was a continuation of the tradition of the post-Gupta rulers like Śrī Harsha and the Bhaṭṭārakas of Valabhī. The linguistic, literary and cultural traditions developed unbroken from 550 to 1199 A.D. when the third empire of Gurjaradeśa, that of the Chālukyas, was overwhelmed by Ala-ud-din Khilji's armies.

On the death of Śrī Harsha the imperial sceptre passed to Śrī Harsha's grandson, Dharasena IV of Valabhīpura. But the Chālukyas were gathering strength in the South and the Gurjara power was gaining strength in the North.

In 711 A.D. Mahmud-bin-Qasim, the Arab general, captured Sindh ; and in 725 A.D. Junayd, the general of Caliph Hashim (724-743 A.D.), sent two armies to invade Gujarāt. One proceeded to Navsāri and was destroyed by Pulakeśī Avanijanāśraya, the Chālukya feudatory of Navsāri. The other raiding army proceeded north, defeated the rulers of Kachchha, Saurāshṭra, Valabhīpura, Chitod and Gurjara, destroyed Bhillamāla, and laid Ujjain waste.[4] But Nāgabhaṭa I, scion of the Pratihāra family of Gurjaradeśa, drove back the Arab forces and founded a strong power. He and his descendants were styled Gurjareśvaras or Gurjaras from Gurjara or Gujaratrā (the Mārwār and Abu region) over which they first ruled.

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[3] *History of India as told by its own Historians* (Elliot and Dowson), I, pp. 4, 13 ff, 21 ff, etc.

[4] cf. *Bombay Gazetteer*, I, Part I, p. 109 n 2 :

शरझसीरमुग्दरोद्धारिणि तरलतरतारतरवारिदारितोदितसैन्धवकच्छेल्लसीराष्ट्रचावोटकमौर्य्य-गुर्जरादिरा(ज्ये) निःशेषदाक्षिणात्यक्षितिपतिजि....

About 750 A.D. the empire of the Chālukyas of the South including South Gujarāt and parts of Mālwā passed into the hands of the Rāshṭrakūṭa conqueror, Dantidurga. And for two hundred years South Gujarāt became a battlefield between the imperial Rāshṭrakūṭas of the South and the Gurjaras of the North. In c. 780 A.D. Vatsarāja, the Pratihāra king of Gurjaradeśa, conquered Ānarta and Saurāshṭra and became the suzerain of most of the kingdoms of North India. It was during his reign that Udyotana wrote his *Kuvalayamālā* at Jhalor and Jinasena wrote his *Harivaṁśa Purāṇa* at Wadhwān.[5] A triangular contest for all-India supremacy began between Vatsarāja of Gurjaradeśa, Dharmapāla of Bengal and Rāshṭrakūṭa Dhruva of Vātāpī. North Gujarāt continued within the domains of Nāgabhaṭa II (792-834 A.D.), the son of Vatasarāja, who vanquished the Pāla kings of Bengal.

In c. 807-8 A.D. Govinda III, the Rāshṭrakūṭa, overran the North, and lived for some months at Sarbhon, now in the Broach District. But he died in 814 A.D., and Nāgabhaṭa II captured Kanauj, transferred his capital there and became the emperor of the North. Medapāṭa. Gurjaratrā, Sapādalaksha, Ānarta, the mainland upto Mahi and Mālwā formed part of the empire which stretched from Multan to Bengal and the Himalayas to the Mahi.[6] South of the Mahi ran the writ of the Rāshṭrakūṭas.

About 835 A.D. Nāgabhaṭa's son, Mihira Bhoja (c. 835-888 A.D.), referred to in Gujarātī tradition as Bhūyaḍa of Kalyāṇakaṭaka (Kanauj), had to subdue Ānarta and Saurāshṭra again. He appointed military governors at Junāgadh and Wadhwān. The Mahi divided the Gurjara empire of the North from the Rāshṭrakūṭa empire of the South, South Gujarāt changing hands from time to time. Mihira Bhoja, the Gurjareśvara, was one of the greatest emperors in history, and the Arabs, who dreaded him most, called his empire Juzr or Gurjjara. He was succeeded by Mahendrapāla (888-910 A.D.), and he, by his son Mahīpāla (c. 912-948 A.D.), the last Mahārājādhirāja of Āryāvarta.

In 940 A.D. Krishṇa III, the Rāshṭrakūṭa, invaded the North and in a swift campaign destroyed the empire of Gurjaradeśa. It was a historic event.

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[5] cf. *Kuvalayamālā* (*Bhāratīya Vidyā*, II, pp. 84-87), st. 18, 20, 21, 24, 26 ; *Ind. Ant*, XV, p. 141 :

तुंगमलंघं जिणभवणमणहरं सावायउलं विसमं।
जाबालिपुरं अट्ठावयं व अह अत्थि पुनईए ॥१८॥
तत्थट्ठिएणं अह चोद्दसीए चेत्तस्स कण्हवक्खम्मि।
णिम्मविआ बोहिकरी भव्वाणं होउ सव्वाण ॥२०॥
परभडभिउडिभंगो पणईयणरोहणीकलाचंदो।
सिरिवच्छरायणामो णरहत्थी पत्थिवो जइआ ॥२१॥
चंदकुलावयवेणं आयरियउज्जोअणेण रइया मे।
सिवसंतिबोहिमोक्खाण साहिया होउ भवियाण ॥२४॥
सगकाले वोलीणे वरिसाणं सएहि सत्तहि गएहीं।
एकदिणेणूणेहिं रइया अवरण्हवेलाए ॥२६॥

[6] cf. Munshi, *Imperial Gurjaras*, III, p. 62 f.

Most of the feudatories became independent. The military governors of Junāgadh and Wadhwān disappeared. The Rāshṭrakūṭas occupied parts of Rājputāna so far ruled by a feudatory of Kanauj. The mainland of Gujarāt and Mālwā were ruled by the Paramāra king, Sīyaka II, who was the feudatory of Kṛishṇa III. Mūlarāja, the son of Rāji, perhaps the grandson of Mahīpāla or Mahendrapāla, was driven out from Gurjaratrā. Fleeing south, he captured Aṇahilavāḍa Pattana and occupied Sārasvata Maṇḍala, the valley of the Sarasvatī. In 997 A.D., for the first time, we find Mūlarāja called the 'Lord of Gurjara', a mere title, for the name of Gujarāt appertained to a different region altogether.

Under the imperial Gurjaras life in Gujarāt reached a high level of art and learning under the inspiration of Kanauj. The temple of Modhera (c. 800 A.D.), the temples of Khajurāho (c. 900/-1000) and the Vimalśā temples of Abu (c. 1030-1050) are the relics of the magnificent tradition of art which flourished in the hey-day of Gurjaradeśa. Bhaṭṭi of Valabhīpura (c. 641), Subandhu and Bāṇa (c. 650), Bhavabhūti (c. 700) and Vākpati (c. 750) of Kanauj, Māgha (c. 700) of Śrīmāla, Haribhadra (c. 700-70) of Chitrakūṭa, Medhātithi and Devala the great law-givers, and Rājaśekhara (c. 900) the poet laureate of Mahīpāla, the grandson of Mihira Bhoja, are the representatives of a great age of intellectual and cultural activity.

The story of Jayaśekhara and Vanarāja Chāvḍā and his descendants ruling from Aṇahilavāḍa Paṭṭana between c. 765 to 942 A.D. is but a vague relic of some minor dynasty of local chiefs and of the conflicts between them and Mihira Bhoja of Kanauj who survives in the tradition as the Bhūyaḍa of Kalyāṇakaṭaka.

III

The history narrated in the last edition of *Gujarāt and Its Literature* following earlier histories that the history of Gujarāt began with Mūlarāja's capture of Aṇahilavāḍa in 942 A.D.[7], is not reliable. What is now Gujarāt, in fact, then participated in the larger life associated with the empire of Vatsarāja, Nāgabhaṭa II, Mihira Bhoja, Mahendrapāla and Mahīpāla (c. 780 to 940). Then it had a virile tradition. Its cavalry is once recorded as having driven out the Rāshṭrakūṭa forces. A Brāhmaṇa from Vadnagar was the guardian of the important fortresses of Gwālior. Medhātithi laid down a law of strength and vigour. A Brāhmaṇa could marry a Kshatriya or a Vaiśya girl, and could adopt even a Kshātriya son.[8] Śūdras could offer oblations to certain sacrificial fires and perform all saṁskāras except recital of Vedic *mantras*.[9] Converts to Islam were brought back into the fold by nominal ceremonials.[10] Āryāvarta was not confined to India. Wherever an Ārya king established the Vedic religion was Āryāvarta.[11] In fact absorption of persons of other faiths into Āryadharma was a common feature in Sindh and Saurāshṭra.

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[7] cf. Forbes, *Rās Mālā* (New Ed., London, 1878). p. 199 ; *Forbes' Rās Mālā*, (Edited by H.G. Rawlinson, Oxford, 1924), I, p. 248.

[8] Medhātithi on Manu, IX. 168 :

कुलानुरूपगुणः क्षत्रियादिरपि ब्राह्मणस्य दत्तको युज्यते ।

[9] Medhātithi on Manu X. 127 :

अनुपनीतत्वात् श्रुतिविहितधर्मभावे स्मृतिविषये सामान्यविहितधर्मा यथोक्तप्रकारास्ते नास्य प्रतिषिध्यन्ते । तथा च स्मृत्यन्तरं पाकयज्ञैः स्वयं यजेत अनुज्ञातोऽस्य नमस्कारोऽमन्त्र इति ।

Of course, Kānyakubja was the capital of North India and more. It was a sacred place, the home of the imperial Ikshvākus. All directions were to be measured from it.[12] The dress worn by the ladies of the capital was adorable. "Women of other countries," Rājaśekhara, "should study the ways in which the ladies of Kānyakubja dressed and bedecked themselves, braided their hair, and spoke their words.[13]

IV

The period from c. 550 to 950 A.D. was an organic one from the literary and cultural point of view. Bhillamāla, Ujjayinī and Valabhī were centres of cultural and literary activity, but the literary tradition and influence were one. An account of the literary achievements of this period in Sanskrit, Prakrit and Apabhraṁśa, therefore, would include not only those of the authors who came from Gujarāt but of all those who flourished in Gurjaradeśa.

The period under review was one of the most fruitful in Sanskrit literature. Epic and dramatic works were composed, grammar and rhetoric were studied, law and philosophy were developed. And Sanskrit became the most powerful of influences operating on the culture of the people. It was the language of the court, of literature and of the highest thought and the noblest ideal. It impressed its genius upon Gujarāt, and in spite of its fluid social and commercial life, prevented it from developing on alien lines.

By the sixth century of the Christian era, Sanskrit literature was several centuries old. Kālidāsa, the greatest Sanskrit poet and one of the greatest of any age, had lived but a century before, laying the foundation of a new art and a great tradition. His influence continued to dominate the whole period under review though with decreasing purity.

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[10] Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, II, pp. 299-301 ; *Devala-smṛiti*, st. 1-10 ; 17-22 ; 30-1 : 48 : 54 ff ; etc.

[11] Medhātithi on Manu, II. 22, 23 :

आर्या वर्तन्ते तत्र पुनः पुनरुद्भवन्त्याक्रम्यापि न चिरं तत्र म्लेच्छाः स्थातारो भवन्ति । यदि कश्चित् क्षत्रियजातीयो राजा साध्वाचरणो म्लेच्छान्पराजयेच्चातुर्वर्ण्यं वासयेन्म्लेच्छांश्चार्यावर्त इव चाण्डालान्व्यवस्थापयेत्सोऽपि स्याद्यज्ञियः । यतो न भूमिः स्वतो दुष्टा संसर्गाद्धि सा दुष्यति ।

[12] *Kāvyamīmāṅsā*, P. 94 : तत्रापि महोदयं मूलमवधीकृत्य' इति यायावरीयः।

[13] *Bālarāmāyaṇa*, X. 90 :

यो मार्गः परिधानकर्मणि गिरां या सूक्तिमुद्राक्रमे
भङ्गिर्या कवरीचयेषु रचनं यद्भूषणालीषु च ।
दृष्टं सुन्दरि कान्यकुब्जललनालोकैरिहान्यच्च य-
च्छिक्षन्ते सकलासु दिक्षु तरसा तत्कौतुकिन्यः स्त्रियः ॥

Generally speaking the Sanskrit literature of the period had an aristocratic and learned character ; it was written for the learned. The poets were required to undergo an elaborate course of training and master several branches of learning including grammar, rhetoric, poetics and lexicography. The vast store of myths and legends treasured in the two great epics the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* supplied the themes ; but the literary tradition tended to become esoteric. Poetics was assiduously cultivated. The theory and rules of dramaturgy were required to be rigidly followed. (1) *Mahākāvya* (the artistic or court epic), (2) *Khaṇḍa-kāvya* (long descriptive poem), (3) *Gadya-kāvya* the prose romance) and (4) *Rūpaka* (drama) were the prevalent literary *genres* as contrasted with the simpler folk-tale or didactic and gnomic literature of an earlier age. But Kālidāsa remained the unchallenged master in *Mahākāvya*, *Khaṇḍa-kāvya* and *Rūpaka*; his works were the model which inspired most poetic efforts, however poor in quality. The only other form was the prose romance, for which Daṇḍin's *Daśakumāracharita* furnished the pattern.

The *Mahākāvya*, which owed its rise to the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* had under the influence of Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaṁśa*, become a refined and polished epic, dominated by one sentiment, dealing with the adventures of a royal hero and his family. But literary art spent itself in description rather than in narration. Soon Kālidāsa's model, compact in form, elegant in expression and classic in self-restraint, underwent a change for the worse. The poet, anxious to win the praise of the pedant, turned a grammarian or a verbal trickster, and made a great literary vehicle the victim of tiresome artifice.

In tradition Kālidāsa is closely associated with Ujjayinī. The nine literary gems of legendary fame were also associated with the city. But within a hundred years of the great master's death, the literary tradition had considerably deteriorated. Subandhu, placed about the end of the sixth century, reflected this new tradition. Several references in his works justify the conclusion that he lived in Mālwā. *Vāsavadattā*, his only surviving work, is the earliest prose romance in India. The style is highly ornate, the narrative is meagre, literary artifice 'with a pun in every syllable' abounds. Long winded descriptions appear to have come into vogue as the most important part of literary creations, a feature which characterises the whole period. The author disregards both character and incident. The story, though romantic, loses its beauty in the endless verbal trappings which the author weaves round it.

V

The tradition of Subandhu was carried forward by Bāṇa (c. 650 A.D.) whose *Kādambarī* is rightly acknowledged to be the best prose-romance in Sanskrit literature. This and his other work, *Harshacharita*, gave a new inspiration and technique to the literary art of the age.

Harshacharita is a Kāvya woven round the early life of Śrī Harsha. It gives a vivid and brilliant picture of the time. Incidentally, with Hiuen Tsang, the poet shares the honour of having given to posterity the life and times of one of the greatest emperors of India. He thus describes how he set out on his journey to meet his patron :

> He rose early in the morning. Having taken his bath he put on a clean white piece of cloth. With rosary in hand he recited Vedic mantras which he was to recite on his journey. He then worshipped the idol of Śiva, the god of gods. He first bathed it in milk, then offered sweet-smelling flowers, incense and pigments with great devotion. He also offered many other things and waved the lights before it with devotion. The fire-god was also propitiated by sacrifice. The offerings of ghee and sesamum made its flame go the right way. According to his means, he gave presents to Brāhmaṇas. Having gone round the sacrificial cow which stood facing the east, he applied white powder to his body, put on white garlands, wore white clothes and put siddhārtha in the hair on his head. The elders smelt him on the head by way of blessing. Putting forward his right leg first he started from Prītikūṭa village followed by his relatives who had in their hands flowers and fruits. They also chanted Vedic mantras.[14]

Kādambarī was left incomplete by the author and finished by his son Bhūshaṇa. The work lacks proportion. The narrative is literally stifled by descriptions. No detail, however far-fetched, escapes the author. The work discloses little art in characterisation or in presentation of the story. But it contains a series of vivid word-pictures of nature. The author's eye never misses colour, nor his ear, music of the softest kind. He can be fanciful and even slightly humorous when he wants to. His fancy is rich, his vocabulary unlimited. The prose, in spite of its elaborate and endless compounds, has an element of poetic rhythm unsurpassed in any other work. The work created a profound impression on the literary movement of the period and lifted the tedious verbosity of the age into a living art.

Bāṇa's patron, Śrī Harsha, was also an author. Three of his plays, *Priyadarśikā, Ratnāvalī and Nāgānanda* have come down to us. The author borrowed his plots from Guṇāḍhya's lost work. His style is free from the elaborate literary artifice associated with his age.

Valabhīpura was the capital of Kāthiāwār at the time famous for its riches, learning and piety. During the reign of Śrdharasena, possibly fourth of the name, flourished the poet Bhaṭṭi. Evidently the city had its literary masters, of whom the poet appears to be most prominent. His only known work is *Bhaṭṭikāvya* or *Rāvaṇavadha* It was the original on which Hemachandra modelled *Dvyāśraya*. It was composed with the two-fold purpose of illustrating the rules of Sanskrit grammar and rhetoric, and of providing literary enjoyment. In such a work naturally the poet is mothered by the grammarian. Though tradition gives a great position to Bhaṭṭi, it is only because of his skill in achieving his dual purpose of doubtful literary value.

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[14] *Harsha-charita* (NS Ed.), pp. 56-7 :

अथान्यस्मिन्नहन्युत्थाय प्रातरेव स्नात्वा धृतधौतधवलदुकूलवासा गृहीताक्षमालः प्रास्थानिकानि सूक्तानि मंत्रपदानि बहुशः समावर्त्य देवदेवस्य विरूपाक्षस्य क्षीरस्नपनपुरःसरां सुरभिकुसुमधूपगन्धध्वजबलिविलेपनप्रदीपबहुलां विधाय पूजां परमया भक्त्या प्रथमहुततरलितत्वग्विचटनचटुलमुखरशिखाशेखरं प्राज्याज्याहुतिप्रवर्धितदक्षिणार्चिषं भगवन्तमाशुशुक्षणिं हुत्वा दत्वा द्युम्नं यथाविद्यमानं द्विजेभ्यः.... प्रदक्षिणीकृत्य प्राङ्मुखीं नैचिकीं, शुक्लाङ्गरागः शुक्लमाल्यः शुक्लवासाः शिखासक्तसिद्धार्थकः आघ्रातः शिरसि कुलवृद्धैः मौहूर्तिकमतेन कृतनक्षत्रदोहदः... प्रणम्य कुलदेवताभ्यः कुसुमफलपाणिभिरप्रतिरथं जपद्भिर्निद्विजैरनुगम्यमानः प्रथमचलितदक्षिणचरणः प्रीतिकूटान्निरगात्।

Māgha wrote his works under the literary influence of Bhaṭṭi and Bhāravi. He was the son of Dattaka Sarvāśraya and the grandson of Suprabhadeva, who was the minister of king Varmalāta, whose inscription dated c. 624 A.D. has been recovered.[15] The Jain Prabandhas make him a resident of Bhillamāla or Śrīmāla. His association with Bhoja is clearly legendary, for the great Mihira Bhoja lived in the middle of the 9th century and the Paramāra Bhoja in the 11th century. The poet was rich and generous and his wife Malhaṇadevī also shared the generous instincts of her husband.

The merits ascribed to Māgha by later critics are clearly exaggerations.[16] The theme of Śiśupāla's death borrowed from the Sabhā Parvan of the *Mahābhārata* was touched up by the author with remarkable skill and luxuriance of expression ; but under the influence of Bhaṭṭi he fell a victim to the time-honoured tradition of using the rules of grammar as the medium of a romantic poem. Characterisation and story, in consequence, came to be considered by the author as subsidiary elements of the composition. The poet however could not approach his master Bhāravi at his best.

Bhavabhūti alone of poets of the period rescued the drama from this decadent tradition. He, otherwise called Śrīkaṇṭha, was the son of Nīlakaṇṭha, and belonged to the learned family of Brāhmaṇas of Padmapura, stated to be in Vidarbha, modern Berar.[17] His *Mālatīmādhava* was enacted on the occasion of the fair of Lord Kālapriya which is identified with Mahākāleśvara of Ujjayinī. He is placed later than Kālidāsa and Bāṇa. If the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* contains reliable information, Bhavabhūti and Vākpati, the author of *Gauḍavaho*, were under the patronage of Yaśovarman of Kānyakubja.[18]

A detailed appraisment of this great poet's work is beyond the scope of the present address.

VI

The Jaina *sādhus* were very active during the five centuries under review ; but the record of their activities has to be examined with caution.

The later Jaina sādhu has preserved this record. Whatever he wrote, his disciples studied, and the libraries of Jaina temples in Gujarāt and Rājputāna preserved. When orthodoxy surrenders its treasures to the printing press, the history of Jainism, of Prakrit, Apabhraṁśa and Gujarātī will have to be written anew. But works, published so far, have made considerable contribution to the history and the literature of the period. They are of great linguistic and sociological value ; but, except for the biographical details of the writer and his teachers, and the record of reigns, they contain unreliable historical material. It is disconnected, one sided, or, in some cases, distorted by religious bias ; it is drawn very often from popular Jaina traditions ; sometimes it conflicts with facts authenticated by contemporary records, and creates a wrong historic perspective. But such as it is, it is sufficient to provide a correct estimate of the literary activities pursued by the Jainas.

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[15] cf. Keith, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 124 : De, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, I, p. 189.

[16] cf. :

उपमा कालिदासस्य भारवेरर्थगौरवम् ।
दण्डिन : पदलालित्यं माघे सन्ति त्रयो गुणा : ॥
तावद्भा भारवेर्भाति यावन्माघस्य नोदयः ।
उदिते च पुनर्माघे भारवेर्भा रवेरिव ॥

[17] cf. De. *op. cit., p.* 278.

[18] *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, IV, 144 :

कविर्वाक्पतिराजश्रीभवभूत्यादिसेवित : ।
जितो ययौ यशोवर्मा तद्गुणस्तुतिवन्दिताम् ॥

About A.D. 500, Brahmanism, and Buddhism dominated Saurāshṭra and Gujarāt, but Valabhīpura was hospitable enough to welcome the conference of *sādhus* which redacted the Jaina canon, thereafter called the *Valabhi Vāchanā*.

Jainism, like Buddhism, was an offshoot of the Aryan thought and religious impulse. Neither Mahāvīra, nor his disciples, ever claimed to teach any but an Aryan doctrine. Rebirth, the supremacy of the five great vows, the efficacy of detachment, *vairāgya*, and the goal of final emancipation *kaivalya*, which they taught were common to other Indian religious movements. Though Jainism did not attract a large Brahmanical following, its sādhus were often drawn from that class. About the first century of the Christian era, some of its missionaries were learned Brāhmaṇas, whose ambition was to see that their tenets acquired a place of honour among the learned in the land.

Vimala's *Paumachariyam*, written in Jain Māhārāshṭrī Prakrit, was one of a large number of attempts to alter *Rāmāyaṇa* to suit the needs of the Jainas. Works like *Nandisūtra*, composed about the time of the Valabhī redaction, show that the religious and literary activities of Jaina *sādhus* were influenced by the *Vedas*, *Mahābhārata*, *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Purāṇas*, the well-known systems of philosophy, the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya and the *Kāmasūtra*.

The revolt in favour of using Sanskrit as against Prakrit, headed by Siddhasena Divākara (c. 533 A.D.), was an attempt to raise the literature and thought of the Jainas to the high intellectual level attained by those of the Brāhmaṇas. A Brāhmaṇa by birth, Siddhasena wrote a well-known text book of logic, and was, on the testimony of Hemachandra, a poet. This revolt naturally met with considerable opposition from the orthodox *sādhus*, who, moving among the illiterate, were not alive to the great intellectual upheaval which was bringing about a deeper cultural unity in the country through Sanskrit.

Siddhasena Divākara, whose principal literary activities were confined to Gujarāt, was the author of several *prakaraṇas*, that is, treatises in which the subject is dealt with in a systematic and scientific form. This treatment, as distinguished from the diffused or episodical treatment of events favoured by the canonical works, was introduced by the Brāhmaṇa converts to Jainism.

The work of Siddhasena was carried forward by Haribhadra, a Brāhmaṇa of Chitoḍ and son of the royal purohita, who occupies a foremost position in the literature of the 8th century.

Haribhadra wrote many *prakaraṇas* both in Sanskrit and Prakrit. He wrote a commentary on the *Nyāyapraveśa* of the Buddhist logician, Dignāga. Traditionally he wrote 1,400 *prakaraṇas* and commentaries on many Jain canonical works. His principal contribution as a scholar was to bring the thought of the Śvetāmbara Jain to the high intellectual level of the Hindu and the Buddhist. Out of the many dharmakathās that he wrote such as *Kathā-Kosha*, *Yaśodharacharita*, *Vīrāṅgadā-kahā*, only *Samarāi-chcha-kahā* and *Dhūrtākhyāna*, both composed in Māhārāshṭrī Prakrit, though with Śaurasenī influence, have come down to us.

In spite of his background and training as a Brāhmaṇa, Haribhadra was attracted to Jainism and was converted by the nun Yākinī. He spent the best part of his life in Gujarāt and the adjoining parts of Rājputāna. But it is clear from his works that he had travelled all over India and come into close contact with the exponents of Buddhist philosophy as taught by Dignāga and Dharmakīrti in Eastern India. His life was inspired by a strong hatred of the Buddhists as also by an ambition to challenge their intellectual eminence. Several anecdotes about his life are found in later works. But the only indisputable fact which emerges from them is that his nephews and disciples Haṁsa and Paramahaṁsa perished in an attempt to master the doctrines of the Buddhists by stealth. He used the word 'viraha' (bereavement) in the last verse in many of his works, it is stated, to keep alive the memory of this loss. He was also a great proselytiser, by his personality and learning, attracting to Jainism several learned scholars from other faiths. He is stated to have got erected eightyfour temples and converted the Prāgvāṭa (Porvada) Kshatriyas of Śrīmāla to Jainism. Proud and fierce, he travelled far and wide, displacing Buddhist influence already on the wane.

Haribhadra, though a man of immense learning and the leader of a movement, was a literary artist in that age when literature could rarely escape from being pedantic or sanctimonious. *Samarāichchakahā* (*Samarādityakathā*) and *Dhūrtākhyāna*, composed in Māhārāshṭrī Prakrit, justify his reputation so uniformly emphasized by successive generations of Jaina authors. *Samarāichchakahā* is written in a racy, simple, fluent prose interspersed mostly with verses in the Āryā metre, a welcome departure from the highly ornate style which great masters, like Bāṇa and Dāṇḍin, affected. It is calculated to capture the imagination of the lovers of romance rather than attract the admiration of learned few. The story is full of adventures of certain individuals through a succession of births as men, birds and beasts. No doubt the religious motive is kept alive by the retribution which overtakes the heroes, who represent the cardinal sins, anger, deceit, avarice and untruth. The propagandist also achieves his aim by repeatedly bringing home to the reader the futility of life and the potency of Jainism as the only escape from it.

The story, in brief, is that Guṇasena, a prince, when a child held up to ridicule Agniśarman, the ugly and mis-shapen son of the royal priest. Tired of being a butt of ridicule, Agniśarman became a *sādhu*. After the lapse of some years, Guṇasena, who had come to the throne by then, went to meet his old victim. He had, in the meanwhile, become a great ascetic. The king invited the ascetic to dinner. But under a strict religious vow, the ascetic took food only on one fixed day in a month, and therefore promised to come to the king's palace on the day he broke his fast. On the appointed day, the ascetic came to the palace. The king's men, however, were celebrating the birth of a prince and would not attend to him. Thereupon he went away, and was compelled to continue his fast for another month. The king, when he came to know how he had been treated, in all humility, sought him out and begged his forgiveness. Another invitation followed. The ascetic again came to the palace, only to be turned out a second time for some insignificant reason. Three times the sage received the penitent king's invitation, but on each occasion, was turned out without food or attention. Worked up to a fury, Agniśarman vowed to wreak eternal vengeance on the king through successive lives, and giving up all food, died. He observed his vow and at every rebirth persecuted Guṇasena. As a result of a series of adventures, Agniśarman was consumed by his own malace. Guṇasena, on the other hand, acquiring higher merit at each birth, attained salvation.

The story is well told, and represents a stage of social *dharmakathā* different from *Taraṅgalolā*. The author himself calls it *dharmakathā*. Unlike the older work, its religious parts are woven into the main story. Literary effort is less apparent. The emotion of love, intense, fresh and natural, which dominates *Taraṅgalolā* becomes subordinate to a spirit of adventure and religious zeal. In *Taraṅgalolā*, *karma* and remembrance of previous life and its consequences serve to motivate the story ; in *Samarāichcha*, the story only serves to illustrate those ideas and impress certain moral principles upon the audience. In the former, the characters are taken from life ; in the latter, they verge on the allegorical.

VII

Dhūrtākhyāna (the story of Cheats) contains 480 stanzas divided into 5 ākhyānas. It is written in a simple and fluent style suited to the conversational manner in which the cheats carried on their discussions.

Five leaders of cheats, each with his followers, meet in Ujjayinī during the rainy season. Mūladeva, one of the leaders, requests every one to tell the gathering of his truthful experience. It is agreed that whoever shows the experience to be incredible has to feed the others but whoever confirms it by scriptural precedents is to be made their chief. Mūladeva then tells his story :

I went to the abode of god Śiva to receive the Gaṅgā on my head, with a gourd and an umbrella in my hand. While passing through a forest an elephant rushed at me, so I leapt into the gourd. The elephant followed me into it where we played hide and seek for six months. Ultimately I escaped through the spout-hole of the gourd. The elephant tried to follow me but the hair of its tail was caught in the spout-hole. I, however, approached the river Gaṅgā, crossed her and reached the abode of the god. I then received the Gaṅgā on my head for six months. If what I tell you is true, confirm it by scriptural testimony. If you say it is a lie, give me a feast.

Kaṇḍarika, another chief of the cheats, in confirmation of Mūledeva's story, cites eight incidents from the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas*, relating to the imprisonment of Gaṅgā in Śiva's matted heir, birth of Karṇa from Kuntī's ear, crossing of the ocean by Hanumat with his army, etc.

Then Kaṇḍarika told his story :

I was a naughty boy and my parents drove me out of the house. I then attended a fair in honour of a Yaksha. Robbers attacked it. All of us men women, children and horses went and hid in a cucumber, and continued our merry-making.

A goat swallowed the cucumber. A boa swallowed the goat. A crane ate the boa and sat on a *vaṭa* tree. A king who had camped under the tree, thinking it to be its branch tied a mad elephant to the leg. When the crane drew up its leg, the elephant was lifted up with it. The mahaut brought the archers who shot down the crane. Under the king's orders the crane's stomach was opened. Every one of us, thereupon, came out and went to our homes.

I myself had this experience. If you don't believe it, give us the feast.

Elāshāḍha, another chief, confirmed that according to *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas* the experience was true, for they referred to the Primeval Egg in which all were accommodated, to Mārkaṇḍeya, who also saw a boa at the time of the universal deluge and lived in its stomach for a thousand years. The cheat cited several Puranic stories in corroboration and stated that if they were true, Kaṇḍarīka's experience was equally true.

Elāshāḍha then told his story :

Being fond of alchemy I brought the liquid from the golden pond by which metal could be transmuted into gold. Then I became rich. The robbers came and attacked my house. I fought single-handed against them. They however, cut my head off and placed it on a *badara* tree, and left with my wealth. Men came there in the morning and saw my head eating the *badara* fruits. They were convinced that I was alive and joined the head to my body. And here I am hale and hearty. But if you disbelieve me, give us the feast.

Śaśa, another chief, confirmed the truth of this reference by citing the Puranic example of Jamadagni reviving Reṇukā after her head was cut off by Paraśurāma ; of Tilottamā, Hanumat, and Mahāsena who were created or brought to life by joining different limbs.

Then Śaśa tells his story :

I once went to my field. An elephant rushed at me. Out of fear, I climbed a sesamum tree. The elephant ran round it, and the sesamum seeds fell on the ground. The seeds were trodden upon by the elephant and so there was a flood of sesamum oil. The elephant got stuck in the mud made by a flood, and died of hunger and thirst. I came down the tree, drank ten pots of oil, and ate the seeds. I then made a bag of the elephant's hide, filled it with oil, and brought it with me. I left the bag on a tree, and when I went home asked my son to bring it. He went to the tree, but as he could not find the bag, brought the tree with him. Believe me or give us a feast.

Khaṇḍapānā, a woman chief, corroborated the experience by giving similar stories from the *Purāṇas* of the ichor of elephants in Bharata's army drowning armies ; of Kumbhakarna drinking hundreds of pots of water and of Agastya drinking the ocean ; of Garuḍa carrying the banyan tree and of Mādhava lifting the Govardhana.

Khaṇḍapānā, then told the cheats to make her their chief and prepare the feast for this was her story :

Once I was very beautiful Then I slept on the verandah. The wind dallied with me. Immediately I had a son, who took leave of me and went away.

Mūladeva, corroborated her by the instances of Bhīma, born of wind ; of Hanumat from Nīlā ; of Vyāsa, who walked away as soon he was born.

Khaṇḍapānā resumed : Once I attracted the burning sun and had intercourse with him. A mighty son was born to me, but I remained unhurt. On the third occasion I attracted Agni by whom I got a brilliant son ; but I was not burnt in the least. Once again Indra came to me, preferring me to celestial nymphs, and a son was born to me.

I am an artisan's daughter and several washermen also worked under me. One day the clothes left to dry were blown off by strong wind. I asked the washermen to run away. For fear of the king's wrath, I became a lizard and entered the city. But in the morning I thought I would be caught for the king's dinner and so turned myself into a mango plant. When the washermen were forgiven I restored myself as a woman. In the meantime, the leather straps of my carts had been eaten up by jackals and dogs and my father had to make others out of a mouse's tail.

I then went from place to place in search of the clothes and my servants. Then I came here only to find that you were my servants and that what you wear were my clothes. Now believe me, or if you can't, give us a feast.

Being outwitted by Khaṇḍapānā, all the cheats felt ashamed. They, therefore, accepted her as their chief and requested her to feast them all. Khaṇḍapānā thereupon taking a dead child from the funeral ground with her went abegging to a rich banker's. His servants were asked to drive her away. When force was used against her she fell down to the ground and cried out that her son had been killed. The banker, to escape punishment, bribed her with a ring. She removed the dead child, sold the gift, and feasted the cheats.

The cheats congratulated her on her resourcefulness and confessed that a woman was wiser than a man.

In sharp contrast to the literary tradition of his age Haribhadra refused to convert a good story into an allegory or end it up by making everyone a Jain *sādhu*. Khaṇḍapānā, the witty, hypocritical cheat, making her colleagues look ridiculous, has a character of her own. Her skill in professional beggary has not been improved upon in the last fifteen hundred years.

These stories are clever and remind one of Baron Manchausan's extravagant exploits. But there is a devastating satire in every word of it. Satire in Indian literature is very crude and often mixed. But Haribhadra's satire had a vein similar to Swift's or Voltaire's. His was the rationalistic approach. "I am not partial to Mahāvīra, nor do I bear any ill will against Kapila and others. I uphold the message of those whose words appeal to reason." In

Sambodha Prakaraṇa he holds up even the ways of Jaina sādhus to equally destructive satire.

The specimens of *dharmakathā* furnished by Haribhadra suggest that a large body of fictional literature composed in Western India at that time has been lost.

VIII

A little later (779 A.D.) Udyotana, one of the disciples of Haribhadra, composed, mainly in Prakrit and partly in Apabhraṁśa, a Champū styled *Kuvalayamālā* in Jābālīpura (Jhalor). It contains valuable historical material, and, among other things, shows that in Gurjaradeśa around Bhillamāla Jainism had acquired great influence and the Jaina *sādhus* were active in pursuit of literature. It contains valuable linguistic material, and refers to earlier masters of literature like Pādalipta, Shaṭparṇaka, Guṇāḍhya, Vyāsa, Vālmīki, Bāṇa, Ravisheṇa, Jaḍila, Devagupta, Prabhañjana and Haribhadra. A Sanskrit version of this romance was made by Ratnaprabha (c. 1400 A.D.).

Udyotana's *dharmakathā* is still in manuscript. "This story", says the author modestly, "composed without pride of poetic skill, has no literary merit. It has been composed with the object of only telling a *dharmakathā*. Let no one therefore find fault with it".[19] It is woven round the old theme of retribution overtaking certain individuals embodying the cardinal sins through a succession of lives. But we miss Haribhadra's raciness of style and freshness of presentation. Literary effort is transparent. The characters are more allegorical ; the adventures are less exciting ; the outlook on life is more pedantic. We feed narrow influences becoming predominant. The style of Bāṇa, not his creative art, is the principal inspiration

Jaina *dharmakathā* was losing, or had lost, touch with real life. Siddharshi (906 A.D.) wrote his *Upamitibhavaprapañchākathā*, a lengthy allegory on the world's worthlessness, in the form of a *dharmakathā*. It includes dreary sermons, an encyclopaedia of knowledge, and a collection of stories, good, bad and indifferent. It is a *reductio ad absurdum* of the didactic and allegorical story. Siddharshi apologetically refers to the necessity of composing in Sanskrit. "Sanskrit and Prakrit equally deserve importance, but men of little learning prefer Sanskrit. If the remedy is at hand, why not please everybody ?"

In Gurjaradeśa of this period several other works were written, among them Śīlāchārya's *Chaupanna Mahāpurusha Chariyam* in Prakrit, on which Hemachandra modelled his *Trishashṭi-Śalākā-purusha-charita* ; *Bhuvana-sundarī-khathā* by Vijayasiṁha (919) ; *Kālakāchārya Kathānaka* by Maheśvarasūri; *Bṛihatkathā-kosha* by Harisheṇa (931-2) written at Wadhwān in Gujarāt, in which reference is made to Vināyakapāla, the Gurjara Pratihāra emperor of Kanauj, otherwise known as Mahīpāla; *Yaśastilaka-champū* by Somadeva (959). A few decades later, Jaina poets, like Dhanapāla (973), the friend of king Muñja of Dhārā and the author of *Tilakamañjarī*, frankly accepted Sanskrit as the language of literature *par excellence*.

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[19] cf. Muni Jinavijayaji in *Vasanta Smāraka*.

IX

This age closed with Rājaśekhara who was the representative of its literary traditions and whose influence over the coming centuries was great. He appears to have risen to fame as a poet and scholar in the time of Emperor Mihira Bhoja. He was also the teacher of his son Mahendrapāla who ruled the Pratihāra Empire 888 to 910, and the poet laureate in the reign of his son Mahīpāla. The poet had therefore the rare luck of being an eye-witness and chronicler of some of the historic events which changed the destiny of the country between 910 and 940 A.D.

The poet has left us many autobiographical details. He was born in the Yāyāvara family and was known to the following generations as Yāyāvara. His was a family of poets. His great grandfather was well known for his poetic works and his verses were being plagiarised by other poets. Surānanda, a poet famous at the court of Chedi, Tarala and Kavi Rāja also belonged to the same family.[20]

Rājaśekhara's father Durduka or Dunika was a prime minister and his mother's name was Śīlavatī. Rājaśekhara was a Brāhmaṇa, but had married into a Chāhamāna family, and his wife Avantisundarī was, therefore, a Kshatriya.[21] She was a lady of great accomplishments, for the poet quotes her opinion thrice in the *Kāvya-mīmāṁsā*[22] and the *Karpūramañjarī* was first acted at her desire. He was also styled Kavirāja.

The known works of Rājaśekhara are as follows :—

(a) *Bālarāmāyaṇa*, relating the story of Rāma from Sītā's marriage to the death of Rāvaṇa and their return to Ayodhyā after Sītā's fire-ordeal.

(b) *Bālabhārata*, sometimes called *Prachaṇḍapāṇḍava*, staged at Mahodaya before Mahīpāla.

(c) *Bhuvanakośa*, to which he alludes in the 17th chapter of the last work.

(d) *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*.

(e) *Haravilāsa*, referred to by Hemachandra.

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[20] cf. *Bālarāmāyaṇa*, 1. 13 :

स मूर्तो यत्रासीग्दुणगण इवाकालजलदः
सुरानन्दः सोऽपि श्रवणपुटपेयेन वचसा ।
न चान्ये गण्यन्ते तरलकविराजप्रभृतयो
महाभागास्तन्मिन्नयमजनि यायावरकुले ॥

[21] cf. *Karpūramañjarī*, 1. 11 :

चाहुआणकुलमोलिमालिआ राअसेहरकइन्दगेहिणी ।
भत्तुणो कइमवन्दिसुंदरी सा पउञ्जयिदुमेअमिच्छइ ॥

[22] *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*, pp. 20, 46,57.

(f) *Viddhaśālabhañjikā*, staged at the request of Yuvarājadeva of Chedi after the collapse of Kanauj in c. 940. The occasion may have been his installation in the joint administration of the government.

(g) *Karpūramañjarī*, produced at the request of his wife Avantisundarī.

Bālarāmāyaṇa was staged at the court of Mahendrapāla at Kanauj. The poet however has taken liberties with the original. For instance, Rāvaṇa from the beginning is represented as a rival of Rāma for the hand of Sītā and his love for Sītā is given more prominence than his ferocity.

Bālabhārata was staged at Kanauj before a distinguished gathering which included the emperor himself after Mahīpāla completed his great campaign against the Rāshṭrakūṭa emperor Indra III, in about 916 A.D. Thus does the poet describe his patron:

> "In the family of Raghu, there was born the glorious Mahīpāladeva, who lowered the heads of the Muralas ; who destroyed the Mekalas ; who drove out the Kaliṅgas ; who conquered the Kulūtas in battle ; who destroyed the Kuntalas as if with an axe ; who forcibly seized the royalty of the Ramaṭhas."[23]

Only two acts of *Bālabhārata* have been recovered so far.

Viddhaśālabhañjikā is a nāṭika in four acts. King Chaṇḍavarman of Lāṭa has no sons. He therefore tries to pass off his daughter Mṛigāṅkavatī as a son. In that guise she is sent to the queen of king Vidyādhara of Kerala. The visit leads to a real marriage between the king and the princess. *Karpūramañjarī* is a play in Prakrit in four acts, and describes the love affair of king Chaṇḍapāla with the princess of Kuntala.

The poet enjoys complete mastery over Sanskrit and Prakrit metres, but as a dramatist he is poor. He draws inspiration from Kālidāsa, Bhavabhūti and Śrī Harsha but never approaches any one of them either in expression, sentiment or beauty.

His *Kāvyamimāṁsā* is a work of great value and gives a glimpse of the life and literature of this period of India's history. It was projected as an elaborate treatise on poetics in 18 lengthy parts, each consisting of several chapters. Only the first part has been so far recovered.

The poet gives an exalted status to poetics or Kāvyśāstra. He deals with the origin of poetics and determines the position of poetics in relation to Vedic and post-Vedic literature and treats of the origin of Kāvyapurusha

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[23] *Bālabhārata*, I. 7 :

नमितमुरलमौलिः पाकलो मेकलानां
रणकलितकलिङ्गः केलितट् केरलेन्दोः ।
अजनि जितकुलूतः कुन्तलानां कुठारो
हटहृतरमठश्री : श्रीमहीपालदेव : ॥

(poetry incarnate, Poetry-King) and his marriage with Sāhityavidyā, the literary art. The origin of Kāvyapurusha is thus described :—

> The goddess of learning was practising penance on the Himālayas with the desire of having a son. Pleased with her penance, Brahmā gave her a son, afterwards the Kāvyapurusha. It was from him that metrical speech first originated. Word and meaning make up his body, the different languages his limb. Sentiment is his soul, and figures of speech are his ornaments. Once upon a time, while Sarasvatī was going to the celestial assembly as a judge, the Kāvyapurusha persisted in following her. In order to prevent him, Bhavānī created Sāhityavidyāvadhū as his bride and asked her to follow him. The bride had to adopt various sorts of dress and dramatic devices to win him. The Kāvyapurusha, at the end of the journey, was won over. The pair was then married in Vatsagulma by the Gandharva marriage. The different kinds of dress and dramatic modes adopted by Sāhityavidyāvadhū in different countries are imitated by the people of those parts."[24]

In the work the poet deals with the rules to be observed by poets and gives the following directions :

A poet should not read his composition to others in its incomplete form ; he should not be vain if his composition is good; before publishing it he should seek the opinion of his betters ; he should avoid quarrelling with impostors ; he should prepare several transcripts of his works.[25] He ends the work by treating the various ways which are injurious to the reputation of the poet.

According to Rājaśekhara a poet should always be equipped with a box, a board with a chalk to write thereon, leaves of the *tāla* or the bark of the *bhūrja* tree for preparing books, as also pen and inkpot. He should also have the leaves of the *tāla* tree with iron nails.[26] Evidently books were being written at the time in the southern style by incising the leaves of the *tāla* tree and in the northern, by writing with ink on the bark of the *bhūrja* tree.

A kavirāja was expected to be proficient in various languages and not merely Sanskrit. A good poet, says Rājaśekhara, should pay attention to all the languages according to his ability, taste and curiosity,[27] for there is a distinctive beauty in each.

A large number of books from which Rājāśekhara has taken quotations have remained unrecovered so far. Rājaśekhara was a much travelled poet,[28] and has some very interesting remarks to make about the manner of speech of the people. The Magadhas and those living to the east of Banaras spoke Sanskrit well but Prakrit badly.[29] A Gauḍa could not speak Prakrit properly ; he should, therefore either give up the attempt or improve his Prakrit.[30] The Karṇāṭakas recited poetry proudly with a twang at the end of each sentence irrespective of sentiment, style or quality.[31] The Draviḍas recited prose and poetry both in a musical way.[32] The Lāṭas hated Sanskrit but spoke elegant Prakrit in a beautiful way.[33] The people of Saurāshṭra and Travaṇa spoke Sanskrit but mixed it with Apabhraṁśa to add beauty to their speech.[34] Kashmirians were good poets but their recital sounded like a mouthful of guḍūchi.[35] The poets of the North were cultured and recited with a nasal twang.[36] But the Pañchāla poets were the best ; their voice corresponded to their style ; the arrangement of their words was perfect; their compositions were scientific.[37]

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[24] *Kāvyamīmāṁsā, Intr., p. XXXVI*, pp. 5-10.

[25] *op. cit.*, p. 52 f. नार्द्धकृतं पठेत्...। न च स्वकृतिं बहु मन्येत... न च दृप्येत् ।... परैश्च परीक्षयेत्। सिद्धं च प्रवन्धमनेकादर्शं कुर्यात् ।

[26] *op. cit., p. 50* : तस्य सम्पुटिका, सफलखटिका, समुद्गक: सलेखनीकमषीभाजनानि ताडिपत्रणि भूर्जत्वचो वा, सलोहकण्टकानि तालदलानि, सुसम्मृष्टा भित्तयः, सततसन्निहिता : स्यु : ।

[27] *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*, p. 48 : संस्कृतवत्सवस्विपि भषासु यथासामर्थ्यं यथारूचि यथाकौतुकं चवहित : स्यात् !

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[28] *Kāvyamīmāṅsā* (3rd Ed., GOS), p. 51 :
गौडाद्याः संस्कृतस्थाः परिचितरुचयः प्राकृते लाटदेश्याः
सापभ्रंशप्रयोगाः सकलमरुभुवष्टक्कभादानकाश्च ।
आवन्त्याः परियात्राः सहदशपुरजैर्भूतभाषां भजन्ते
यो मध्ये मध्यदेशं निवसति स कविः सर्वभाषानिषण्णः ॥

[29] *op. cit.*, p. 33 :
पठन्ति संस्कृतं सुष्ठु कुपाः प्राकृतवाचि ते
वाणार (राण) सीतः पूर्वेण ये केचिन्मगधादयः ॥

[30] *op. cit.*, pp.. 33-4 :
गो स्त्यजतु वा गाथमन्या वाऽस्तु सरस्वती ॥
नातिस्पष्टो न चाश्लिष्टो न रूक्षो नातिकोमलः ।
न मन्द्रो नातितारश्च पाठी [ठो] गौडेषु वाडवः ॥

[31] *op. cit.*, p. 34 :
रसः कोऽप्यस्तु काप्यस्तु रीतिः कोऽप्यस्तु वा गुणः ।
सगर्वं सर्वकर्णाटष्टनारीत्तरपाठिनः ॥

[32] *Ibid* :
गद्ये पद्येऽथवा मिश्रे काव्ये काव्यमना अपि ।
गेयगर्भे स्थितः पाठे सर्वोऽपि द्रविडः कविः ॥

[33] *op. cit.*, p. 34 :
पठन्ति लटभं लाटाः प्राकृतं संस्कृतद्विषः ।
जिह्वया ललितोल्लापलब्धसौन्दर्यमुद्रया ॥

[34] *op. cit.*, *p.* 34 :
सुराष्ट्रत्रवणाद्या ये पठन्त्यर्पितसौष्ठवम् ।
अपभ्रंशावदंशानि ते संस्कृतवचांस्यपि ॥

[35] *Ibid* :
शारदायाः प्रसादेन काश्मीरः सुकविर्जनः ।
कर्णे गुडूचीगण्डूषस्तेषां पाठक्रमः किमु ! ॥

The pāñchālas are described as the ornaments of Āryāvarta, the most cultured region. The two foci of the land were Kanauj and Banaras. Its people liked elegant and new literary works. The compositions of its poets were very well constructed.[38] Their recitation was sweet as honey. As the poet testifies, Mahodaya or Kanauj was the literary metropolis of India, the centre from where radiated power, fashion and culture.

Rājaśekhara had a partiality for Lāṭadesa. Karpūramañjari, the heroine of the play, is the daughter of the king of Lāṭadeśa. *Viddhaśālabhañjikā* also refers to the king of the same country. In the *Bālarāmāyaṇa* (Act X 48,49) it is described as the crest of the earth. The elegance of speech and beauty of its ladies are dilated upon by him in his Kāvyas. Lāṭa, according to the poet, was the crest of the earth. Her daughters were beautiful.[39]

Poets of Lāṭa appear to possess distinctive literary traits. A kind of style, favoured by the authors of Lāṭa, had acquired the name of Lāṭī. Rājaśekhara represents the people of Lāṭa as preferring Prakrit and hating Sanskrit. Humour was then another peculiarity of Lāṭa.

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[36] *Ibid* :

तत : पुरस्तात्कवयो ये भवन्त्युत्तरापथे।
ते महत्यपि संस्कारे सानुनासिकपाठिन : ।।

[37] *Ibid* :

मार्गानुगेन निनदेव निधिर्गुणानां
सम्पूर्णवर्णरचनो यतिभिर्विभक्त : ।
पाञ्चालमण्डलभुवां सुभग : कवीनां
श्रोत्रे मधु : क्षरति किंचन काव्यपाठ : ।

[38] *Bālarāmāyaṇa* X. 86 : इमे अन्तर्वेदभूषणं पञ्चाला :
यत्रार्थे न तथानुरज्यति कविर्ग्रानीगीर्गुम्फने
शास्त्रीयासु च लौकिकेषु च यथा भव्यासु नव्योक्तिषु ।
पश्चालास्पव पश्चिमेन त इमे वामा गिरां भाजना:
त्वद्दृष्टेंरतिथीभवन्तु यमुना त्रिस्रोतस श्चान्तरा ।।

[39] *Bālarāmayaṇa* Act. X : अयमसावितो विश्वम्भराशिर:शेखर इव लाटदेश: ।
यद्योनि: किल संस्कृतस्य सुदृशां जिह्वासु यन्मोदते
यत्र श्रोत्रपथावतारिणि कटुर्भाषाक्षराणां रस: ।
गद्यं चूर्णपदं पदं रतिपतेस्तत्प्राकृतं यद्वच-
स्तांल्लाटांल्ललिताङ्गि पश्य नुदती दृष्टेर्निमेषव्रतम् ।।४८।।
किञ्च-लक्षीकर्तु प्रवृत्तोऽपि लाटीलडहवीक्षितै: ।
लक्षीभवति कन्दर्प: स्वेषामेवात्र पत्रिणाम् ।।४९।।

The poet's works also reflect the high state of education in the country in his time. Women did not lack in education. Evidently there were poetesses too in Kanauj. "Culture is connected with the soul and not with the sex" says the poet.[40] The poet had met princesses and poetesses, daughters of prime ministers, courtesans, and wives of court jesters who were well versed in sciences.

The whole country, therefore, in this period had a unity of culture. Apabhraṁśa, Prakrit and languages closely allied to Sanskrit were being understood by the people. Sanskrit was the language of the cultured, spoken and understood among the educated throughout the country, but most prevalent to the east of Banaras.

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[40] *Kāvyamimāṁsā*, p. 53 :

संस्कारो ह्यात्मनि समवेति, पौरुषं वा विभागमपेक्षते ।

Presidential Address: Kannaḍa. (XVII)

By Prof. K. G. Kundangar, M.A., Belgaum.

Ladies and gentlemen,

This is the third time that the regional languages have received due representation in the sessions of the Oriental Conference. I would like to congratulate the Reception Committee of the Bombay session in this connection. Now that India has attained independence it is natural for the regional languages of this great country of ours to come to the fore-front. It will be hereafter proper for these regional languages to be the media of instruction. As English was the medium of instruction so far—and it is even now the medium of instruction in the Collegiate education—there was little or no scope for the development of regional languages. It was for this reason that books pertaining to the various aspects of life were not—rather could not be—written in these languages. There are signs of better prospects now. A note of warning, however, needs to be sounded here. The extreme love for one's own language should not lead one to belittle or deride other languages. If this happens it is sure to lead to separatist tendencies and is likely to destroy the unity of our nation. Regional languages should be looked upon as the sister languages of this great country to which it is the proud privilege of us all to belong. There should be a genuine desire and a general effort on the part of a people of a province to study the language of a neighbouring region besides his own. Only then can we hope to realize the unity of our nation. The matter of learning languages does not stop at that either. For making the unity of our nation a reality, it is also necessary for us to learn our national language—I mean Hindi. Again in order to keep ourselves in touch with the progressive ways of life in the advanced countries of the west the study of the English language is necessary. If provision is made for the study of these languages friendly feelings and co-operation will grow between one region and another.

At an Oriental Conference not only will thoughts regarding literature, research and publication be exchanged but it will also be pointed out in a broad and a general way as to how research ought to proceed. The field of research is wide and the work to be done in it is many-sided. Literature, religion, grammar, poetics, philology, history and its sources all these and many others come under its purview.

Work in the field of research may be carried on either by individuals or by institutions. Among the Kannaḍa institutions and organizations mention may be made of the Oriental Research Institute, University of Mysore; Archaeological Department, University of Mysore; Kannaḍa Department, Madras University; Kannaḍa Sāhitya Pariṣat, Bangalore; Karnāṭaka Vidyā-vardhaka-sangha, Dharwar; Karnāṭaka Historical Research Institute, Dharwar; Literary Branch of the Karnāṭaka Lingayat Education Society, Dharwar ; Kannaḍa Research Institute, Dharwar ; Vivek-ābhyudaya-kāryālaya, Mangalore ; Jaina-Yuvaka-Sangha, Puttur and Madhva-siddhāntōttejaka-samiti, Uḍupi (S. K.). Among those who have been carrying on the research work individually I may mention the names of Rao Bahadur, P. G. Halkatti, Bijapur, Shri Pandir Shivamurti Shastri Hulkuntemath, Bangalore, Shri Chennamallikarjunappa Kori, Haveri, Pandit Muliya Timmappayya, Mangalore etc. Many other names may be mentioned along with these. But for want of space I am forced to omit them. I hope and trust that all the gentlemen concerned will excuse me in this matter.

Work in the various institutions mentioned above is going on without a break. But what is more important is that it should proceed more briskly. As there are numerous Kannaḍa works still unpublished the work of institutions is bound to be more rapid than that of the individuals. The work that can be done by institutions at any time is impossible of achievement by individuals. The difficulties in the path of individual workers are too many. For instance, when handing over palm-leaf manuscripts or their copies on paper their owners trust institutions readily and individuals rarely. Institutions are trusted more readily because they can get the originals copied and compared and because after the work is finished they generally make arrangements to return them to the owners. In certain cases the owners may even surrender the right of ownership of such copies to institutions. It is the duty of their managers to preserve the manuscripts in good conditions.

Among such institutions there may be some that are managed by Government. There may be others again which are managed by the public. Government institutions do get monetary help from that body for research and publication. But it cannot always be said that that help is always adequate for the purpose for which it is given. The Kannaḍa Research Institute at Dharwar, for instance, has not received sufficient funds for publication during the last five or six years, as a result of which the work done during this period has remained unpublished. Likewise, the publication of inscriptions by the Government Epigraphical Department has been held up for some years. Our country was under foreign domination then. Now we have our own Government. But even now it may not be possible for the ruling body under the present circumstances to sanction adequate amounts for such purposes. Individuals who are at once rich and generous-minded, should, therefore, come forward to help such institutions. This then is the state of affairs of institutions managed by the Government agencies. We shall now turn to those managed by the public agencies.

Among the institutions managed by the public the condition of the Karnāl ṭaka Historical Research Society and the Karnāṭaka-Vidyā-Vardhaka-Sangha is pitiable. The monthly subscription received from the members is too meagre. They have to be waiting all along for the Government grant to pay off the pending bills with the result that their research work has come to a stand-still. The attitude of the public has become one of indifference to them. Only when officials of higher grades take interest in them rich people would come forward to extend their helping hand. The motive in majority of such cases was the grtification of self-importance. The help such persons gave, therefore, was not a disinterested one. They expected high sounding titles and recognitions from government for the help they gave. Now there is no scope for such titles and honours and consequently the generous minded millionaires are not so willing to loosen the strings of their purses. It is therefore necessary to create a situation wherein this sort of attitude will disappear and wherein disinterested and adequate help will be forth-coming.

When we think of individual efforts to publish old works we, Kannaḍigas, cannot forget the name of the late Shri. S. G. Narasiṁhācār and Sri M. A. Rāmānujaiyangār—the proprietors of Kāvya-kalā-nidhi and Kāvya-manjari series. The valuable works they published helped to create a taste among Kannaḍigas for Kannaḍa literature. With these two we have also to remember the name of late Rao Bahadur R. Narasiṁhācār, the author of the Karnāṭaka-kavi-carite. Similar is the monumental work put in by Nyāya-tīrtha Pandit A. Śāntirājaśāstri in the field of Jain literature. Shri Niśānimath of Davanagere was the first to draw the attention of Kannaḍa scholars to the wealth and beauty of Vīraśaiva-vacana literature through "Vibhākara" a Kannada weekly of Belgaum, edited by Sri. P. R. Cikkodi. Thereafter Rao Bahadur P. G. Halkatti published Vacanas of many vacanakāras in Śivānubhava, a monthly edited by himself. He has also published "Vacana-śāstra-sāra in three parts. Kīrtana-kēsari Āsthāna-vidvān Paṇḍit Śivamūrti-śāstri has taken up the work of publishing old works. It is a matter of pleasure for me to record here that Rāghavanaka caritre of Siddhananjèśa, Gururāja-cāritra and the Vacanas of Mōligeya Mārayya are being published in the northern part of Karnāṭaka (Bombay State). Similarly Ādipurāṇa of Ādi-Paṁpa and the Kannaḍa commentary of Nēmicandra on Nıti-vāky-āmṛta of Sōmadēva-sūri are on their way to the press.

In periodicals like the Indian Antiquary, Epigraphia Indica, Journal of the Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society, Epigraphia Carnatica, Mysore Archaeological Reports etc., are published many Kannaḍa inscriptions. Still there are many that have not yet caught the eye of research scholars. Shri. R. S. Panchamukhi, who is in charge of the Kannaḍa Research Institute, Dharwar, has taken up the work of collecting and publishing such documents. But during the last five or six years his publication of these records has remained in arrears for want of money. I should like to draw the attention of the Government to this fact.

Many inscriptions, no doubt, have been published so far. But it is rather a sorry affair, that no serious attempt has been made to sift evidences and to collect and connect facts contained in them and to write the History of Karnatak in a continuous and systematic way. I must mention in this connection the name of Rev. H. Heras of the St. Xavier's College. His students, under his able guidance, have written the histories of Kadambas, Cālukyas of Badāmi, Cālukyas of Kalyān, Raṣṭrakūṭas, Hoysaḷas, kings of Vijayanagara etc. But none has, so far written the History of Karnataka as a whole in a continued and connected way. The history of Karnāṭaka written by the late Sri. R. H. Deshpande has no completeness about it. He wrote it for Kannaḍigas only. They cannot hope to benefit much from such a narrow outlook. If our history and literature are to be made available to our non-kannaḍiga countrymen, and if in consequence fellow-feeling and spirit of co-operation, which alone can lead to the unity of our nation, are to develop, books of this nature should be written in our national language or English, which can be understood by all. The literature of Śaraṇas and 'Dāsas' should be rendered into English and Hindi.

There are very few books in Kannaḍa which can serve as reference ones. Dr. Kittell's Kannaḍa-English Dictionary cannot fully serve our purpose now. An attempt is being made by the Kannaḍa Sāhitya-Pariṣat to provide a better one. There ought to be specific dictionaries for Jain, Vīraśaiva and Vaiṣṇava pauranic references and technical terms. Even greater is the need for an Encyclopaedia in Kannaḍa. A committee ought to be formed for this and its work should start straight way. (It is understood that the Sāhitya Pariṣat has taken up this work.)

Last but not the least is Dravidian philology, which needs our immediate attention. Those that have an aptitude for it should put their shoulders to the wheel. They should not restrict their attention to the Dravidian languages only but should take up such languages as Brahui, Baluchi, Afghani, Irani, Scythian, Javanese and other which are inter-related to this group of languages. Now that the Karnatak University has begun to function, let us hope and trust, that this work will begin and proceed briskly under its auspices.

Before I close I would like to make a suggestion that all the languages sections of the Oriental Conference be made permanent irrespective of the place of the session. I thank the Reception Committee for the honour done to me in electing me to the chair of the Kannaḍa Section of the Conference. Jai Hind.

Presidential Address: Arabic & Persian (V)

By Maulavi Mahesh Prasad, Benares.

Gentlemen, I am very grateful to the members of the Executive Committee, who have honoured me by giving me an opportunity to preside over the Arabic and Persian Section of the All India Oriental Conference of the fifteenth session at Bombay. No doubt this famous city, where we have assembled from the different parts of this vast country, is a centre of very great importance from the political, social, commercial and religious points of view. But its importance from the linguistic point of view is, need I add, not less, if not greater. Much work has been done here in connection with various languages, and a considerable amount of good work has as well been accomplished here with regard to Arabic and Persian. For instance, the Islamic Research Association of Bombay is even now carrying on much appreciable work for the uplift of Arabic and Persian. And the Arabic and Persian books, which are available here, can scarcely be found in any other part of India. It has been the home of many eminent men who acquired great name for their profound knowledge of Arabic and Persian. Eventually without any more dilating on Bombay and matters relating to Arabic and Persian, I now close this topic here and proceed further.

This presidentship is indeed a great honour for me and I am glad that it has given me an opportunity to come into touch with the learned men of India, and to place before them something regarding Arabic and Persian, to the study of which the major part of my life has been devoted, and for the knowledge of which I had to go to Iran also.

I know well that in the past fine addresses have been delivered in this section of the Conference by my learned predecessors. But all that I have to do on this occasion is to examine and measure the relation which Arabic and Persian have had with India and Sanskrit and the benefits that may be derived out of it.

The principal sacred book of the Muslims is in Arabic and hence is the great importance of Arabic in the whole Muslim world. Some people, therefore, may be misled to think that the Arabic came into existence only from the dawn of Islam. But it is not so, for in Arabia even before the birth of Islam, in 610 A.D., Arabic had acquired a strong hold there, and when Islam gained power in Arabia, Arabic did not remain confined to Arabia only, but spread to many outside places also. It soon attained a very high position and acquired a prominent place in the linguistic and literary world.

On account of the physical condition of Arabia many of its inhabitants even now live in different groups. It is evident that a language, which is used in different groups and places, possesses different variations in several respects. And so, before the advent of Islam and during the early Islamic period, the Arabic which flourished in the whole of Arabia was not the one and the same. Due to the difference in groups and places, it was necessary that there should be some difference with regard to the pronunciation and its dialect. For instance, it should be known that the men of the Mazin مازن tribe of Arabia used to pronounce *b* as *m* e.g. the word Ibni ابنی (my son) was pronounced Imni امنی.

The inhabitants of Yeman (a part of Arabia) used *sh* in place of *k* e.g. kallamani Kalaman (كلمنی كلاماً He spoke something to me) was pronounced Shallamani Shalaman

شلمنی شلاماً

The tribe in which the Prophet Mohammad was born, was the famous family called Quraish. The Arabic language too of this tribe was considered to be of a high standard. When the Quran was revealed in the language of this tribe the pronunciations, dialects etc. of this very tribe were adopted by all and the Arabic variations existing between the various groups or tribes, disappeared. Eventually the first fruit that Arabic received from Islam was the standardisation of the language.

When the political and religious influences of Arabs spread outside Arabia the sphere of Arabic too was enlarged. Foreigners also became masters of Arabic and they enriched this language and literature. It is due to this that, even to-day, there are learned Arabic scholars in Egypt, Palestine, Syria, Mesopotamia, Iran, Afghanistan, Turkey, India and in many other lands. It is also to be noted that it has become the national language of most of the above mentioned countries. Wherever the mother tongue of the Muslims is not Arabic it is seen that many have learnt the Quran by heart in Arabic, which has not less than 77277 words. Besides the entire Muslim population of such places pray to God and perform other religious rites through the Arabic language.

There is no doubt that the mother tongue of the Indian Muslims is not Arabic, even so some Indian Muslims are to this day found well-versed in Arabic language and literature and their learning is highly appreciated in Arabic-speaking world also. Shri Abdul Aziz Memon (of Rajkot-Bombay Presidency) is an example. He is now the Chairman of the Arabic department of the Muslim University at Aligarh. He is purely an Indian i.e. neither of his parents is an Arab. He is a great scholar of Arabic and on account of his scholarship the government of Egypt has honoured him greatly, and he is highly regarded in the Arabic-knowing world and Europe.

A nation generally does not require the study of grammar for its mother tongue. Even without the knowledge of grammar people can express their thoughts or understand the thoughts of their countrymen. But in order to know and fully understand a foreign language, the knowledge of its grammar is indispensable and, as when the Arabs came into contact, through their religion or political ideas, with the people outside Arabia, the knowledge of grammar became necessary for the foreigners. Under the circumstances composition of grammar became essential ; consequently this is the second blessing of Islam to Arabic. To sum up, people outside Arabia studied Arabic and mastered it. They rendered so valuable services for the Arabs and Arabic as probably the people of Arabia would or could never do. No doubt some time before the birth of Islam and even during the early Islamic period, i.e. the last part of the 6th century A. D. and the first half of the seventh century A.D. Arabic was, from the literary point of view, of a high standard particularly in respect of its poetry, but it is clear that literature alone was not sufficient equipment for any progressive nation or power. In this state of affairs it became necessary that works on different subjects should be written in Arabic. Therefore, the materials for this purpose were soon collected. In the begining much stress was laid on rendering into Arabic works on various topics from different languages e.g. Greek, Latin, Persian etc.

It will not be out of place here to state in this connection that if the Greek and Latin works had not been rendered into Arabic, most of them would have remained unknown or would have fallen into oblivion. Besides the aforesaid languages, much has been rendered into Arabic from Sanskrit also. Baghdad which had been the centre of the Caliphs for a considerable time has also been a stronghold of Arts and letters. Caliph Mansur (754-775 A.D.) had strengthened the foundation of this royal house. During his reign several Muslims and other non-muslim scholars had begun pouring in there. After him, even during the time of Caliphs Harun Rashid and Mamun considerable work relating to learning has been accomplished there.

Prestige of both India and Baghdad was greatly enhanced by the learned Indians at Baghdad during those days and the works carried out by them have been proved to be of great value. Unfortunately no mention of such incidence is found in our history. But the Arabic books contain some records of the learned Indians. Some Indian names are read as follows :—Manka Sanjhal, Jawadar, Shanaq etc.

The first Sanskrit book rendered into is Arabic Siddhant whose full name most probably is Surya Siddhant or Brahmasapta Siddhant. Its name in Arabic is found to be As-Siddhanda. It reached there with a learned Indian (Hindu) in 156 A. H. i.e. 773 A.D. Probably it was rendered into Arabic in 778 A.D. Not only were Arabic knowing people or the Muslims benefitted by this, but the Europeans also derived advantage of its translation (in Arabic).

The number of works on different subjects that have been rendered into Arabic after this is too large to enumerate. Hence the names of some books in Arabic are read as follows :—

1. Arj Band—Most probably it is the work of Arya Bhata.
2. Arkand—I cannot say anything about its Sanskrit name or the name of its original author.
3. Charak Sanhita—the well-known book on Indian Medicine.
4. Sushrut Sanhita—It is also a well-known book on Indian Medicine.
5. Kitab Abdul Hind—Wassin.
6. Asrarul Masyal, and so on.

Like the names of the Caliphs of Baghdad the names of those ministers of this royal house, called Brameca, will be recorded in golden letters in the world history. The Brameca family is responsible for much rendering into Arabic from Sanskrit and from several other languages. The names of Charak and Sushruta have been mentioned before; the credit of rendering them goes to Yahia of Brameca family, one of the powerful ministers of his time at Baghdad. Besides these some other works of literature, medicine, astrology, etc. had been translated by the family of Brameca specially.

With regard to Arabic and Sanskrit the never tiring efforts of Al-Beruni are no less praise-worthy. His well-known book Kitabul Hind in Arabic is written at length about India. Besides this at least the following works of his are such as have been rendered into Arabic from Sanskrit :—

1. Translation of the two books of Brahma Gupta.
2. A book about the numerals of India.
3. A book regarding the Lunar and Solar eclipses.
4. Sankhya Darshan.
5. Patanjal Sutra.

But it should also be noted that Al-Beruni rendered some books into Sanskrit from Arabic :—

1. A book answering the questions of the Indian astrologers or astronomers.
2. The well-known book Al-Majestily the learned Greek, Batlimus. (Ptolemy).
3. Parts of Eculids.

A famous Arabic writer Shri Jurji Zaidan of Egypt says that the numerals were first invented by the Hindus and later on they passed to the Arabs from them. And then from the Arabs they passed on to the Western countries.

It is an admitted fact that the relation between Arabia and India or Arabic and Sanskrit was not established only after the birth or conquest of Islam but as a matter of fact it commenced much prior to the birth of Islam. Due to the physical conditions of Arabia, its inhabitants were compelled to seek their livelihood by trade. They carried on the trade with India and China as well. And it was on account of the Arab-traders that the goods of this country used to reach Africa and the far West.

The Arab traders brought besides other things horses from their land and took away with them spices, scents, swords, cloths etc. As a result of such contacts Sanskrit words found access into Arabic even before the birth of Islam :—

English	Sanskrit	Arabic
Camphor	कर्पूर (Karpur)	کافور (Kafur)
Pepper	पिप्पली (Pippali)	فلفل (Fulful)
Clove	कनकफल (Kanakphal)	قرنفل (Qaranphal) etc.

Generally Quran is regarded to contain words of Arabic only ; but apart from Persian Syriac Coptic, and others it includes Sanskrit words also :—

(76·5) إِنَّ الأَبْرَارَ يَشْرَبُونَ مِنْ كَأْسٍ كَانَ مِزَاجُهَا كَافُوراً (a)

Innalabrara yashrabunanim kasin kana mizagoha Kafuran.

As to the Righteous, they shall drink of a cup (of wine in heaven or paradise) mixed with camphor.

وَيُسْقَوْنَ فِيهَا كَأْساً كَانَ مِزَاجُهَا زَنْجَبِيلاً

(76·17) (b)

wa yusqauna fiha kasan kana mizajoha Zanjbilan.

And they will be given to drink there (in Paradise or Heaven) of a cup (of wine) mixed with ginger.

The word Sub (صبح i.e. dawn) occurs at four places in Quran, and the words Zia (ضیاء i.e. Light) and Safina (سفينه i.e. Boat), each occurs thrice. In the opinion of the famous Arabic Scholar of Egypt named Jurj Zaidan the said words have probably been derived from the Sanskrit.

This very writer expresses his view that the Sanskrit language was fully developed long before the Arabic. He has further opined that, if a detailed study of Sanskrit is made, many other words of Arabic will be found to have been derived like the aforesaid words, from the Sanskrit origin.

If there had been available the systematic history of ancient Arab ; i.e. before the birth of Islam, probably it would have been well established that Indian culture, which is a very old culture, has greatly influenced the Arabic language, literature and culture.

Although many invasions were made by the Muslims on India, yet unlike Iran or Afghanistan the whole of it did not become Muslim by religion nor did Arab or Arabic-speaking people hold sway over the India of to-day. Even so much has been done in Arabic or in respect thereof. The peculiar type of work done here for Quran, which is the main sacred book in the eyes of the Muslims' world, is not to be found probably in any part of the Islamic world. Before saying anything in this connection, I consider it necessary to state that there are only 28 letters in the Arabic alphabets, out of these 15 are accompanied with dot or dots. Consequently Faizi who was a jewel of Akhar's Court, has written such a commentary on the whole Quran as contains words made only of letters without dot or dots (i.e. 13 letters only). This commentary is named Sawate-ul Ilhâm.

The whole Quran is understood to contain not less than 77277 words, and so the commentary of Faizi should not be considered to comprise of words less than above mentioned. Shri Zubaid Ahmadij Head of the Arabic and Persian department of Allahabad University says :—"I know no book outside India which has ever been written with such successful maintenance of this rhetorical device throughout."

Shri Abdul Ahadbin Imam Ali of Allahabad has written a commentary on a part of Quran comprising of words consisting of only 13 dotted letters in complete contrast to the style of Faizi which contains words made up of only the dotted letters of Arabic. This commentary is known by its chronogrammetical name Jubb-Shaghah (جب شغب) which implies that it was composed in 1307 A.H. (1889 or 1890 A.D.)

It should be clear that it is not only the Quran on which some unique attempts have been made in India, but in other branches of learning—Hadith (Tradition), Fiqih, (Religious jurisprudence), Scholastic theology, logic, philosophy, literature etc. Also much has been done and works on such branches of learning have highly been appreciated all over the Islamic-world. 'The contribution of India to Arabic Literature' by Shri Zubaid Ahmedji may profitably be read in this connection.

With these words I finish with the Arabic and now I will say something about Persian.

In my opinion the language of Persia can safely be divided into two main divisions, one the Pre-Islamic language, i.e., Iranian, and the other the post-Islamic language, i.e., the Persian. The pre-Islamic Iran was a much larger country than what it is at present ; and it created its political, commercial, cultural and linguistic influence upon the northern and eastern part of Arabia. In the middle of the 7th century A.D. Iran fell into decay. But in the middle of the 8th century A. D. when Baghdad became the centre of the Abbaside Caliphs, the Arabs came in close touch with the Iranian culture. Moreover, the Iranians (Persians) there exercised an effective influence over the Government of Baghdad. Under such condition much has been rendered from Iranian into Arabic. The stories of *Kartak* and *Damnak* which were translated from Sanskrit into Pehlavi were rendered into Arabic from Pehlavi itself.

There are many books on various subjects rendered into Arabic from Iranian. Their names in Arabic are as below :—

Rustam-wa-Asfandyar, Khudae Nameh, Kitabut Taj, Behram-wa-Narsi, Anusherwan Nameh, etc.

In Al-Fihrist by Ibn Nadim (in Arabic) the Arabic names of those books that have been translated into Arabic from Iranian are mentioned specially at various places together with a brief account of the subjects of the books and their translators. Much can be known in this connection from the book named Iranian Influence on Moslem Literature by Shri G. K. Nariman.

With regard to the relation existing between India and Iran during the pre-Islamic age, the following few words of Shri A. J. Carnoy may be sufficient :—

"Ethnologically the Persians are closely akin to Arayan races of India and their religion which shows many points of contact with that of the Vedic Indians, was dominant in Persia until the Mohammedan conquest of Iran in the seventh century of our era."

I do not consider it improper to call the Post, Islamic Iranian by the name of Persian. There is no doubt that, on account of its religious basis, Arabic gained much influence in the world : but Persian, due to its good teaching, sweetness and easiness in the literary field, found favour with the people, and is the national language of Iran, Afghanistan and Eastern Turkistan. It is now-a-days losing ground in India, whereas there was a time when it was the court language here and much was done for its progress in the land.

History tells us about many such persons who have acquired great knowledge and written various kinds of books. Names of some of them are Amir Khusru, Fazi, Abul Fazl, Mirza Ghalib and Iqbal. But it must be clear that those who became the masters of Persian were not only Indian Muslims but many non-Muslims as well, such as Chandra Bhan Brahman, Munshi Har Gopal, etc.

I trust it will be interesting to learn something about a learned scholar Shri Vashista Narayanji of Gorakhpur who rendered into Persian verses the well known Hindi book Ramcharitmanas (Ramayan) of Tulsidas. I regret to say that Shri Vashistaji breathed his last on the 23rd November, 1948 and his valuable work is neither published nor known to most of us.

It is also clear from history that, just as much has been done in Arabic from Sanskrit, so much has been done from Sanskrit into Persian also. Stories of *Kartak* and *Damanak* were rendered first into old Persian (Pehlavi) from Sanskrit, and on account of their Persian rendering, these stories found easy access to several other languages and became widely known.

Since reference has been made about this in many works, it is not necessary to say any more in this connection.

Besides Pehlavi Persian, which was fostered under Muslim influence and in which the Sanskrit book that was first rendered directly from Sanskrit in India, is Shuksaptati comprising of 70 stories. In 1330 A.D. Shri Ziauddin Nakhshabi rendered 52 stories of this work into Persian prose and named it Tutinameh.

From what Nakhshabi has written in the introduction of his book it appears that some one before him had rendered the 52 stories into Persian which was not a good selection. And so Nakhshabi put the stories in a good form excluding those that were, in his opinion, not good, and making up the total of 52 by inclusion of others more suitable. It is regretted that nothing is known of the writers previous to Nakhshabi.

As desired by the emperor Akbar, the learned Abul Fazl gave an abridged form to the Tutinameh of Nakhshabi. But it should be noted that the Persian of both i.e. Nakhshabi and Abul Fazl is the language of such a type that ordinarily all could not take advantage of it. Under such circumstances, in the 17th century A.D., Shri Mohammad Qadri rendered the work done by Nakhshabi into easy Persian, and included only 35 stories in his work.

I have come to know of a manuscript copy of the learned Abdul Fazl from the catalogue of books in the British Museum. But I have seen many handwritten copies of the work of Nakhshabi in the libraries at Kashi (Hindu University) Jaipur, Udaipur, Ramnagar (Benares) and other places. I think that the works of both the learned persons have not so far been published, but the book written by Shri Qadri, both printed and hand-written, have passed under my eyes.

Now, I have to say something as to where and how much Shuksaptati on account of Persian Tutinameh has been known, or has been rendered into which of the languages. From 1535 A.D. to 1566 A.D. Sultan Sulaiman was the Caliph of Turkey. Under his instructions, during his period at a certain time, Tutinameh was translated into Turkish. I think that the language into which Tutinameh in Persian was, first of all, translated is Turkish. This Turkish Tutinameh was rendered into German by George Rozan, which translation was published from Leipzig. In 1665 Ibn Nashati rendered the Tutinnameh in Deccani Verses. The English version of Tutinameh was published from London in 1792.

Like the Tutinameh of Nakhshabi the Tutinameh of Qadri has also been rendered into various languages e.g. German, English, Urdu, Hindi and Bengali. People probably do not know a great deal about Shuksaptati, so I have written somewhat at length in this connection. Now I think it necessary to say a few words about the Persian Upnishads.

It is not necessary to talk about the recognition and popularity which the Upnishads have gained these days in Europe. But probably some people will be astonished to learn that the knowledge of Upnishads reached Europe for the first time through a Persian version, the credit of rendering which goes indeed to Prince Dara. In the year 1775 A.D., a copy of the Persian Upnishads first of all reached France, and in the years 1801 and 1802 A.D. a Latin translation of them came out, and soon after this publication the Upnishads gained wide popularity. Besides Latin, the Persian Upnishads were translated into French also, but they were neither published then, nor probably have yet been published.

There are many other books which have been translated into prose or poetry from Sanskrit both by Hindus and Muslim ; but I am giving here the names of only those Persian copies which have come to my notice either in manuscript or in printed form at various places:—Mitakshara, Bhagwat, Brahmvayvarta Puran, Shiva Puran, Vishnu Puran, Ganesh Puran, Mahabharat, Bhagwat Gita, Ramayan, Ram Gita, Yogwashishtha, Aprokshanbhuti, Basantraj, Gyanmala, Lilawati, Beejaganit, Baitalpachisi, Prabodhchandrodya Natak etc.

I should like, however, to mention here that I have personally come across more than one versions of some of the books enumerated above by me. Of Ramayan not less than ten, of Shrimad Bhagwat sixs and of Bhagwad Gita seven of different version, of different times, and so on.

Apart from Persian translation of Sanskrit books there exists some material which has been turned into Sanskrit from Persian. For instance, not many years have passed since (i.e. 1931) when Shri Ramswami rendered the famous book Karima into Sanskrit verses with the name of Niti Prabandh to which a Hindi translation is also added.

In addition to translation works much has been written in original in Persian, in the same way as in Arabic, with regard to Islamic religion, literature, philosophy, Astronomy and medicine etc Shri Shah Waliullah of Delhi (D. 1791 A.D.) rendered Quran into Persian. In the event of European advent into India when printing presses were commonly set up here during the time of the East India Company, several newspapers such as *Jam Jehan Numa* and *Jam Jamshed* were published in Persian, which are extant to this day and to which every interested reader can have access.

In short, a great deal can indeed be said about Arabic and Persian, but without saying any more, I consider it essential to mention before I close a few important things.

I. Some people are of the view that after the partition of India there will be no need of the study of the Arabic and Persian languages. But the international importance of India as a free country has been vastly increased now. As such it will also be necessary to maintain our relations with our Arabic and Persian speaking neighbours, for which purpose a thorough study of Arabic and Persian, by at least a limited number among us, has become indispensable. In this connection it should be clearly understood that our study should not only be confind to the classical Arabic and Persian languages as it is generally done at present, but particular attention should be paid towards the Modern Arabic and Persian also.

II. A great deal has been recorded about India in Arabic and Persian books. We should derive benefit from them. There is no doubt that "The History of India" as told by its historians, by Elliot and Dowson is a very valuable work in this connection. But the book of Shri Hadi Wala in reference to this precious work is not less laudable. It is to be noted that the last volume of Elliot and Downson's work is dated 1877 A.D. and that after that date some ancient works have been published in which some materials are found about India, and which have not been mentioned in the work of Elliot and Dowson, e.g. 1 :—Ajaybul Hind (The Wonders of India) by Buzurg Bin Shaharyar with French translation published from Leyden in 1886.

2 : Tabeqatul Umam (The Catagories of Nations) by Quazi Abul Qasim Sayad Undulsi published from Catholic press Beirut in 1912.

Moreover it should also be noted that the extracts from books which are referred to by Elliot and Dowson in their 'History of India' have, some of them, been newly translated or again published. We should take advantage of using them, e.g. 1 :—The Text of Kitabul Maslik Wal Mamalik by Ibu Khurbazbeh with copious foot notes by M. J. De Geeje published from Leyden in 1889 : 2 :—The translation of Silsilatut Tarikh in French with illustrations named "voyage Do Marchand Arabe Sulayman" published from Paris in 1922.

III. I know of no such library in India as contains all those Arabic and Persian books in which some references are recorded concerning India. Therefore there should be established a library which should contain at least the books of the kind above mentioned.

With the well known patriot Shri Abul Kalam Azad at the head of our education department, we have unique opportunity of requesting the Government for collecting all such books of Arabic and Persian as may have references in them about India or Sanskrit. It is expected that, being himself a great scholar of Arabic and Persian, the Honourable Minister will kindly accede to our request which is a step in the furtherance of the greatly desired Hindu Muslim Cultural Unity.

IV. A bibliography of all those Arabic and Persian books which contain some references about India should be prepared. And it would be still better if in that bibliography a mention side by side is made of the translations into different languages of the said texts.

V. There should be a collection of such Arabic and Persian books, as have been translated from or based on Sanskrit works.

If a good account of these is prepared, it will be found that, owing to their existence in Arabic and Persian, the materials of various Sanskrit books have widely spread into many other languages and through Arabic and Persian found access to the literatures of many differently speaking people. When this is done the importance of Sanskrit history will be increased. Moreover, the following things will be brought to light :—

(*a*) Mental attitude of the time when any Sanskrit work is rendered into Arabic or Persian may be known.

(*b*) Deliberations would be made possible about any controversial topic. For instance, it may be noted that the ideas found in the Persian Upanishads of Dara tally with those texts of the Sanskrit Upanishads given in the Gorakhpur edition. It should be noticed that there is a difference between the texts of Upanishads of Nirnaya Sagar, Bombay and Gorakhpur.

Well, this also should be remembered that four out of fifty Upanishads (in Persian) of Dara-Shaunak, Arsha, Chhagal, Bashkal etc. are such as not available in those collections also which count more than fifty.

VI. Something should be written about such materials of Arabic and Persian as is not commonly known to many people—(a) A commentary and translation of Quran by Maulavi Abdulla Chakdalvi (b) The contributions to Persian of Munshi Wilayat Ali Safipuri. (Dt. Unnao U. P.)

VII. From my study of books and the experience of a short visit to Iran in 1929, I have come to the conclusion that the Iranians who have embraced Islam are usually still proud of their ancient culture existing before the 7th century A.D. and of their ancestors of the pre-Islamic age. Besides this they have a tender feeling for India, which fact becomes quite clear from the following thoughts expressed by Mr. Rashid Yasmi in his introduction to Shri Abbas Bin Muhammad Ali Shustari's Persian Gita published in 1936 from Tehran. This is an ancient book of old Iran, which has been preserved safely in its Sanskrit language, and has been rendered after 2,000 years into modern Persian through the efforts of Prof. Shustari, a learned son of Iran.

این کتاب یکی از نامه های کهن سال ایران باستان است که بوسیله
زبان سانسکرت محفوظ مانده و پس از دو هزار سال بهمت یکی از
فرزندان ایران بلباس فارسی جدید می پوشد
''

In 1948, I received a letter from a friend of mine in Tehran. From it I gather that many teachers of the Iranian University are very much interested in the study of Sanskrit and matters relating to India. Under such conditions would it not be proper and useful to make the study of Sanskrit compulsory, as it has been done at Kabul, in all the Universities of the Arabic and Persian speaking countries. Efforts should be made to achieve this end ; some one should go there and acquaint them with the benefit to be derived from the study of Sanskrit. This will, I trust, not only be a step in the advance of our language, but will also bring about results beneficial to our culture as well.

Before closing I must express my indebtedness to those learned persons whose works I have consulted and referred to in my humble address. I am very grateful to you for the patience with which you have listened to my talk. But it will be a matter of great and deep satisfaction for me if some, may not be all, suggestions made by me are considered useful and given a practical shape.

سازشیں بربادیوں کی نام پر تعمیر کے!
دیکھتے ہیں وہ کہ دل میں کیا ہے دل کو چیر کے

ظلم کی حد یہ ہوئی لوگ خدا بھول گئے
قولِ دیوانہ ہے اللہ یہ کیا بھول گئے

کفر و ایماں کچھ اب کے ایسے لڑے
آدمیت کی ساکھ ڈوب گئی

تیرے جہان کا ہر جلوہ حسیں دیکھا
مگر یہ رہ گئی حسرت تجھے نہیں دیکھا

موہن سنگھ دیوانہ ۵ نومبر سنہ ۱۹۴۹ء
امرت سر

ہر آزمایش میں اُترے پُورا جو کھوئے خطرات میں نہ ایماں
رہِ محبت کا راہرو ہے وہی اسی کا صلہ بقا ہے

اس انقلاب کا بھی دلوں پر اثر نہیں
ہے فتنہ آفرینی حرص و ہوس وہی
دیوانہ گو بدل گئے صیاد و باغباں!
بلبل کے واسطے ہے ولیکن قفس وہی

اب جی میرا لگتا نہیں دنیائے دنی میں
چین آئے گا کچھ روح کو ترک الوطنی میں
انسان کو انسان سمجھتے نہیں انسان
کیا لطف رہا وحش کی ہم انجمنی میں

اجنبی دنیا میں آ کر جی میرا گھبرائے ہے
جس میں اپنے بھی نہیں اپنے یہ کیسی جائے ہے
نفعِ تکمیلِ سفر کیا ہے بجز اس کے کہ یہ
روح کو تڑپائے ہے اور قلب کو گرمائے ہے
دل کی ننھی سی الگ دنیا بنا لیتے مگر
پاؤں اپنے ہر دو عالم پر ہوس پھیلائے ہے

حرّیت و انصاف و مساوات و اخوت
دیوانہ محبت ہی کے یہ نام ہیں چاروں
انسان کا انسان پہ جب ہو نہ بھروسہ
زندہ رہیں یا موت کے گھاٹ اتریں ہزاروں

محمل کے سارے پردے الٹتی درّانہ اس شبستان میں گھس آئی لیکن اختر شیرانی اور جوش نے تو رہا سہا بھی پردہ خاک میں ملا دیا اور کھلم کھلا اظہارِ عشق ہونے لگا۔ جگر آئے تو انھوں نے عشق کو وہ سرمستی و جواں سالی بخشی کہ یگانوں اور بیگانوں سبھی کو معلوم ہو گیا کہ:-

"اب یہ کہانی عام ہوئی ہے۔ سنتا جا، شرماتا جا"

یہیں پر بس نہیں ہوئی عقلیت کے ساتھ ساتھ جذباتیت اور رومانیت کی بھی آمد آمد ہوئی جنھیں فلسفہ و فکر کا وہ سنگلاخ راستہ پسند نہ آیا وہ ٹھنڈے ٹھنڈے اس راستہ پر چل نکلے۔ اس روشنی میں انھوں نے ہر عظمت کو پوجا اور ہر چمکتی چیز کو سونا سمجھا۔ عورت کو کائنات کی زینت سمجھنے کا سوال آیا تو لیلیٰ و سلمیٰ سے لے کر مادام تک سبھی کو رموزِ دلبری بلکہ رموزِ شہریاری سے آشنا کر دیا۔ ان کے گیت گائے۔ زندگی کی ہر شاہراہ پر زلف و عارض ہی کی دھوپ چھاؤں میں گزرے۔ دل غمِ دوراں سے دکھے یا ضربِ کلیم سے، درد ہمیشہ رومانوی ہی بنا رہا اور یاد کسی کی زخمہ زن انگشت حنائی ہی آئی۔ ہر عظمت کو پوجنے کے سودے میں ہٹلر اور مسولینی سے لے کر ہیل سلاسی تک پر نظمیں لکھیں۔ سماج کے مسائل کا سوال آیا تو رومانوی اور ازدواجی زندگی کا ایک ایک کونا چھانا اور بُری اور ادنیٰ سے ادنیٰ کیفیات کو بھی اسیر کر لیا۔"

ٹیگور کے اثرات نے گوشۂ دامن پھیلایا اور سیدھی سادی اور پرکیف بحروں اور چھوٹی نظموں کی دلکشی نے ہمارے شاعروں کو بھی اپنی طرف متوجہ کیا۔ نثر میں یہ اثر روحانیت اور جمالیات کی نئی قدروں کی طرف رہنمائی کرنے لگا۔"

ان التماسات پر میں اس خطبہ کو ختم کرتا ہوں اور اپنے چند تازہ اشعار عرض کر کے رخصت چاہوں گا اور آپ کی سمع خراشی کے لئے معافی ؎

بدلتی دنیا کو دیکھ کر ہم بدلتے جائیں تو کیا مزا ہے
اصول پہ اپنے قائم ہی بدلتے حالات میں وفا ہے

جاری رہی اور امید ہے کہ وہ اپنی یہ حیثیت فلک کی گردشِ پیہم
کے باوجود برقرار رکھے گی۔"

ہندوستان میں اُردو والے اگر چاہیں تو اُردو شعر کے ذریعہ سے اپنی ادبی روایات کو اس وقت تک زندہ رکھ سکتے ہیں جس وقت تک کوئی آنے والا انقلاب معاشرے کی مذہبی اور سماجی قدریں بدل کر رکھ دے اور ہمارے اجداد کا یہ مشترک ترکہ پھر سے اپنی قدر و قیمت حاصل کرے۔

اُردو پنجاب ہی کی بیٹی ہے اور یہیں پیدا ہوئی، یہیں پلی اور یہیں بڑھی……
اس کا انجام یہ ہوا کہ قسمت میرٹھ کے دیہات اور قصبات کے سوا جہاں اردو اپنے خالص رنگ میں ضرور باقی رہی باقی تمام اکناف سے یہ زبان سمٹ کر شہروں میں آباد ہوگئی اور دیہات میں مقامی بولیوں کا دور دورہ ہوگیا۔ خود دہلی اور لکھنؤ کے مضافات میں وہاں کی مقامی بولیاں رائج ہیں اور اُردو صرف ثقہ لوگ بولتے ہیں بلکہ یہ ایک حقیقت ہے کہ ہماری پنجابی۔ پوربی، اَودھی یا کھڑی بولی کی بہ نسبت اُردو سے قریب تر ہے۔"

میری ناچیز رائے میں مشاعروں اور قوالیوں نے ہمارے ادبی اور علمی مقاصد کو سخت نقصان پہنچایا ہے اور لوگوں کی توجہ کو علم و ادب کی اعلیٰ اقدار سے دور کردیا ہے۔"

محمد حسن صاحب کا ایک دلچسپ مضمون جو "آجکل" میں شائع ہوا تھا اور جسے "ادبی دنیا" نے نقل کیا ہے، اپنے اندر بڑے پتے کی باتیں رکھتا ہے۔ میں یہ مختصر اقتباسات اس لئے دے رہا ہوں کہ معلوم ہو، ہوا کا رُخ کدھر ہے اور اُردو تنقید کس قدر تیز گامی سے بڑھ رہی ہے۔ عنوان ہے "اسالیبِ نظم"

"فلسفہ، تمدن اور سیاست کی آمد پر بھی صبر کی۔ لیجئے۔ غضب تو یہ ہوا کہ عورت

> پیدا کرنا ہے اور عالمگیر قدروں کو ٹھکرا کر محدود قومی قدروں کو اپنانا ادب کی دنیا میں خسارے کا سودا سمجھا جانا چاہیئے۔“

ادب اور سیاست ایک دوسرے کے ہمسایہ ہونے کے باوجود آپس میں اتنے گھلے ملے نہیں ہوتے کہ سیاست کا ہنگامی اور وقتی مسئلہ ادب کے حریم پاک میں جگہ پا سکے۔ سیاست کی دھوپ چھاؤں گذشتنی اور رفتنی ہوتی ہے لیکن ادب پائیدار اور مستقل قدروں کی حفاظت کا فرض ادا کرتا ہے۔ سیاست کے منصوبے ہر لمحہ بدلتے ہیں، ادب اِن سب کو جذب کرنے کے باوجود اپنی ابدیت کو ہاتھ سے نہیں دیتا۔“

میں یہ کہنے کی جرأت کروں گا کہ اُردو نہ صرف کراچی، راولپنڈی اور پشاور جیسے کئی شہروں کو اپنے مرکز بنالے گی بلکہ دلّی، لکھنؤ اور الہ آباد جیسے پرانے مرکزوں میں بھی زندہ رہے گی۔ یہ ممکن ہے کہ ہندوستان میں اپنی بقا کے لئے اُسے اپنے آپ میں زیادہ لچک پیدا کرنا پڑے لیکن ہندوستان کی سماجی زندگی کے رگ و ریشے میں اُردو کی جڑیں ایسی مضبوطی سے پیوست ہیں کہ تعصب کی بنا پر چند روزہ کوششوں سے اس کی فنا ممکن نہیں ہے۔“

صلاح الدین احمد لکھتے ہیں :-

> ”اردو اپنی بے مثال سلاست، روانی اور آسانی کی بدولت شمالی ہند اور دکن کے بیشتر انطاع میں سب سے مقبول زبان ہے۔ اُردو بنیادی طور پر شہری عوام کی زبان ہے، اس نے انہی عوام میں جنم لیا۔ اردو کی عوامی حیثیت میں جہاں تک شہروں کا تعلق ہے کوئی فرق نہیں آیا، وہ اپنی گوناگوں کیفیات میں بدستور شہری عوام کی زبانوں پر

راج اور عوامی حکومت کی فطری خامیوں کی طرف دھیان نہ دینا اور عورت کو ہوس پرستی کا صید و صیّاد نہ بنانا شہوانی جذبات کو انگیخت کرنا۔ روحانیت کے راستہ میں رکاوٹ کی بجائے اُسے ممد و معاون بنانا اور مادّہ پرستی کی موج میں روحانیت پروری کی ہنسی اڑانا۔ یہ ہرگز ٹھیک نہیں۔ ....

کجروی و بدروی کا علاج لاروشی نہیں اور ہر حالت میں اَن دیکھے کو دیکھے پر ترجیح نہ دینی چاہیئے۔ اگر ماضی ہیچ ہے تو مستقبل ہیچ تر ثابت ہوسکتا ہے۔ اگر انفرادیت کی واقعی قدر و قیمت ہے تو دوسرے مذہبوں، دوسرے اصولوں، دوسرے گروہوں، دوسرے ملکوں کے افراد کی قیمت کیوں نہیں لگائی جاتی۔ انقلاب برائے انقلاب کے معنی سرے ہی سے کچھ نہیں۔ ادب میں زندگی کی نیرنگی ہے اور ادب اور زندگی دونوں نیرنگ کی داد۔ اس سے بردباری۔ دیانت اور قدر شناسی کا ثبوت چاہتے ہیں۔ ہمیں ادب میں اور زندگی میں جنبہ داری، مفاد پروری، خود ستائی اور خود افزائی، بے راہ روی۔ انتہا پرستی اور یک رنگی، مخاصمت، کینہ توزی، طوفان انگیزی اور تباہکاری سے بچنا ہی ہوگا۔ دیکھئے پاکستان کے کچھ ادیب کس قدر سلجھی ہوئی عبارت میں اسی نوع کے کیسے کیسے پاکیزہ خیالات اپنے ہم وطنوں کو دے رہے ہیں۔ ظاہر ہے کہ ان اصحاب کو سیاست یا معیشت اپنی رو میں بہا نہیں لے جاسکتی۔ ....

... اعجاز حسین بٹالوی لکھتے ہیں۔ اور نہ صرف پاکستانیوں کے لئے بلکہ بھارتیوں کے لئے بھی فرماتے ہیں (ادبی دنیا جولائی سنہ ۱۹۴۹ء)

> "قوم پرستی کا یہ حد سے بڑھا ہوا احساس اکثر اوقات اپنے جلو میں منفی قدروں کا ہجوم لئے پھرتا ہے اپنے پرچم کو دنیا کے باقی سب جھنڈوں سے اونچا رکھنے کی خواہش کسی ملک کے لوگوں میں ہو۔ کوئی قابل قدر خواہش نہیں ہے۔ قومیت کا یہ تصور اکثر اوقات باقی قوموں سے برتری کا احساس

کام یہ ہے کہ ہم اُردو کے بھارتی ہندو مسلمان ادیبوں کی ہمت بڑھائیں، ان کے حوصلے وسیع وبلند کریں۔ ان کی مالی امداد کریں۔ ان کے کارناموں کو دوسری دیسی زبانوں میں ساتھ ساتھ منتقل کرتے رہیں۔ خواہ بچھڑے بھائی ملیں یا نہ ملیں ہم ایک ایسے Medium (وسیلہ) کو کیوں ترک کریں جس کی مدد سے ہم پڑوسیوں کے خیالات خود جذب کر سکتے ہیں اور اپنے کمالات ان تک پہنچا سکتے ہیں۔ نفرت کا بخار اسی ایک درجۂ حرارت تک سدا نہیں رہ سکتا۔ بخار اترنے پر محبت کے دن اور محبت کے انداز یاد آتے ہیں اور صدیوں تک ستاتے رہتے ہیں۔ بچھڑ گئے اصحاب میں میں ڈاکٹر عبداللہ۔ عدم اور سر عبدالقادر کو اکثر یاد کرتا ہوں۔

مولانا صلاح الدین احمد صاحب کی کئی تازہ تحریریں میں نے لاہور سے نشر ہوئی دیکھی ہیں۔ ان کی مستقبل بینی اور ان کی اخوتِ انسانی کی محبت کی داد دیتا ہوں۔ ادب ایک نہایت پاکیزہ ہتھیار ہے جو انسان کو انسان سے، نیکی سے، خدا سے ملاتا ہے جدا نہیں کرتا۔ ادب کا فطری۔ صحیح، معراجی کام نفس انسانی کی تہذیب اور جذبات انسانی کی تادیب ہے۔ جہاں ادب۔ سیاست، مذہب، فرقہ پرستی، جنگ آزمائی۔ نفس پروری، آفاق گیری کا غلام ہوا وہیں اس نے اپنی موت کے پروانے پر دستخط کر دیئے۔ ادب سے صحیح و موزوں کام لینے میں ترقی پسند ادیب اور زبان سلامتی۔ مناسبت۔ پختگی سے ممد و معاون ثابت ہوتے۔ اگر وہ اس رمز کو اپنی گانٹھ میں باندھ لیتے کہ انسان کو اس کی چھپی شیطنت کو عریاں کر دکھانے سے زیادہ مؤثر تحریک نکوکاری۔ اچھے انسانوں کی اچھائیاں دکھانے کا کام ہے۔ مذہب سے بڑے کام بھی لئے جاتے ہیں۔ یہ درست ہے سرمایہ داری بہت سے مظالم کی ماں ہے۔ یہ بھی درست ہے عورت یا جنس پرستی میں نرپٹ ہوس ہی نہیں۔ یہ بھی ٹھیک ہے۔ مگر مذہب کے نکو پروری کے حیرت خیز کارناموں کو آنکھوں سے اوجھل کرنا۔ مزدور

سے بھرا۔ درجنوں کایستھوں، کھتریوں۔ کشمیری براہمنوں نے ہندو سنسکرتی ادب کے تراجم سے اور ان پر مبنی اپنی تصانیف سے اردو کے دامن کو مالا مال کیا اور اسے ہندو تہذیب و تمدن اور مذہبی و سماجی روایات کا آئینہ دار بنایا۔ لاکھوں ہندو ان کتابوں کو پڑھ کر ہندویت کے اثر سے صاحب دماغ بنتے رہے۔ مہابھارت۔ رامائن بھگوت گیتا۔ شری مدبھاگوت۔ شو پران۔ اپنشد۔ وید۔ منو سمرتی۔ استوتر۔ کالی داس کے ڈرامے۔ یہ سب اردو نظم و نثر میں منتقل کر دیئے گئے اور نہایت درجہ کی قابلیت اور موزونیت کے ساتھ۔ مجھے شیو پران منظوم بہ اردو کی سنہری عظمت ابھی تک نہیں بھولتی، کاش کہ ہم ان کارناموں اور شاہکاروں کو دوبارہ سہ بارہ دیکھیں اور لطف لیں۔ دیکھیں کہ پرانی روایتوں، پرانی تعلیموں کو کس شان، کس حسن، کس دلکشی کے ساتھ ہندو ادیبوں نے دوبارہ زندہ کر دکھایا ہے، جو خدمت ہندو تہذیب و تمدن کی اردو ادب کے ذریعہ مندرجہ ذیل اصحاب نے کی اس کی داد نہ دینا ناقابل معافی جرم ہوگا۔ منشی جسونت سنگھ لاہوری۔ رائے سرب سنگھ دیوانہ۔ منشی ہرگوپال تفتہ۔ راجہ جسونت سنگھ پروانہ۔ رتن ناتھ سرشار۔ طوطا رام شایاں۔ جگن ناتھ خوشتر۔ بہاری لال۔ شنکر دیال فرحت دیبی سہائے اعجاز۔ سردار سنگھ۔ بختاور سنگھ۔ جان بہاری لال۔ بھولا ناتھ۔ تن سکھ رائے۔ دیبی پرشاد۔ رنگ لال۔ پیتمبر پرشاد۔ اختر۔ رام سہائے تمنا۔ ماتا پرشاد نیساں۔ مکھن لال۔ بینی رام۔ بھولا ناتھ۔ مول چند۔ مادھو رام۔ ہرگوبند سہائے نشاط کنھیا لال عاشق۔ جواہر لال۔ گور سہائے ملتجی۔ منشی ہر نارائن ملنشی۔ بخاری لال شعلہ۔ کشن پرشاد کول۔ دوارکا پرشاد افق۔ جوالا پرشاد برق۔ سورج نرائن مہر گنجپت سرن داس۔ سحر ہنگامی۔ برج موہن کیفی۔ شرر دہلوی۔

آزاد بھارت میں ہمیں سب سے پہلا کام یہی کرنا ہے کہ ان ہندو ادیبوں کی تصانیف کو پھر سے شائع کر کے انہیں خواص و عوام تک پہنچایا جائے۔ دوسرا

قامت کو کسی دوسرے کی قامت کے گز سے ناپنے کے روّیہ کو ترک کرنا ہے، نکلتے سورج کو سلام کرنا، مشہور ہستیوں کی شہرت کی تعمیر میں اپنی چھوٹی چھوٹی اینٹیں لگانا اور جماعت بندی اور پروپاگنڈا اور دنیاوی جاہ و مرتبہ کے اثر سے مرعوب ہونا۔ ان سے قطع تعلق کرنا ہی ہوگا۔

قصّہ کوتاہ اس وقت بھی اُردو ادب کے خدّام اسی جوش اسی ہمّت اسی ولولہ اسی ایمان داری سے کام کر رہے ہیں جو کل تک ان کا شیوہ تھا۔ مجھے اُردو ادیبوں کا مستقبل ہرگز بھارت میں تاریک نظر نہیں آتا۔ اُردو ادب کی خوبیوں کا نشہ جلدی اترنے والا نہیں، اہل ذوق اسے کسی بیدی پر قربان نہ ہونے دیں گے۔ یہ اور بات ہے کہ پچاس سال کے بعد اُردو خوانوں کی تعداد بہت کم ہو جائے، اُردو اگر ہماری زبان نہ رہے گی تو پردیسیوں کی زبان تو رہے گی ہی۔ کیا انگلستان میں فرانسیسی کا شوق کم ہے۔ کیا محض تراجم سے کسی زبان و ادب کی خوبیوں، حلاوتوں و عشرتوں سے ہم پوری طرح سے لطف اندوز ہو سکتے ہیں۔

اردو زبان و ادب کی خصوصیتوں سے دو چار کی طرف میں ضرور توجہ دلاؤں گا۔ اردو ضرورت کے بطن سے نکلی۔ مسلمان قلم طرازوں نے دیس دیس کی اَپ بھرنشوں یا عوامی زبانوں کو اپنایا۔ ان میں فارسی طرز۔ الفاظ - جذبات۔ تماثیل۔ استعارات۔ و تشابہہ کا پیوند لگایا اور اس نئی چیز کو اپنا آلۂ کار بنایا۔ جب اسلامی سلطنت کا مرکز قایم ہوا تو دہلی کے مضافات سہارن پور۔ میرٹھ وغیرہ کی دیسی زبان پر قایم کی گئی۔

عوامی زبان مغلئی لسانی خصوصیتوں کے ساتھ راج دربار کی ادب کی اعلیٰ حلقوں کی زبان بنی۔ اردو کی اثر پذیری اردو کی دعوت عامہ، اُردو کی عوام سے رابطہ پروری کی خوبیوں اردو کی ہمہ گیری کا باعث بنیں۔ یہ غلط ہے کہ اردو کا خزانہ اسلامیوں نے اسلامیات

کوتاہی ہے۔ اس کی زبان کافی ہوتی ہے اور اس کا اسٹائل یا طرزِ بیان دلکشیٔ عوام کی سطح پر قایم رہتا ہے۔ میں یہ کہنے سے نہ رکوں گا کہ کرشن چندر اکثر حدودِ شرافت سے تجاوز کر جاتے ہیں۔ خباثت کو ننگا کرنے کا سلیقہ تقاضا کرتا ہے کہ ادب اپنی شرافت کو ہاتھ سے نہ دے۔ پھر بھی میں اُن کی نگارش پر عریانی کا الزام نہیں لگاتا۔ بیدی درپردہ خدا دوست ہیں اور اُن کے انکار سے اقرار کا پہلو نکلتا ہے۔ اُن کی سکھی یعنی وہ تعلیم جو انھیں ورثہ میں ملی ہے آڑے وقت میں اُن کے کام آتی ہے۔ لطافت نگارش میں وہ اُردو ادب میں پہلا درجہ رکھتے ہیں۔ ناظموں میں مجھے منورؔ لکھنوی کی ٹکر کا غزل گو اور نظم باف دکھائی نہیں دیتا، ماسوائے عدمؔ کے۔ ان میں جوش کا جوش نہ سہی۔ حسرتؔ کا انتخابِ الفاظ و لطفِ صوت نہ سہی، دلؔ کا اختصار بھی نہ سہی۔ پھر بھی نظم میں جو تسلسل، جو معنویت، جو زور، جو فلسفہ، جو صحت، جو ندامت ناگزیر ہے وہ کافی سے زیادہ مقدار میں ان میں موجود ہے۔

مسلمان لکھنے والوں میں جوشؔ بلند بانگ پتے کی باتیں اکثر کہہ جاتے ہیں گو اُردو کو وہ فارسی سے تمیز کرانے میں کوتاہ دست ہیں، اس معاملہ میں آرزوؔ لکھنوی ان کو درس دے سکتے ہیں۔ پروفیسر عبدالقادر سروری کی میانہ روی اور اُن کا بے لاگ پن اُردو تنقیدی مقالات کے لئے باعثِ فخر و امتیاز ہے۔ اگرچہ وہ بھی بیشتر ہندو ادیبوں کے کام سے ناآشنا معلوم ہوتے ہیں۔ مورخوں اور نقادوں کو یہ دیکھنا چاہیئے کہ کوئی ادیب کسی بھی گروہ یا نقطۂ خیال یا عہد یا روش کی خدمت کو اپنا منصوبہ اور لائحۂ عمل اور منتہائے نظر کیوں نہ بنائے ہوئے ہو اگر وہ فنی کمالات کے ساتھ اپنی ڈگر پر چل کر اپنے مطمحِ نظر تک پہنچنے میں کامیاب ہوتا ہے تو اس کی کامیابی کی داد دینا ہی ہوگی اور اُسے یہ کہہ کر نظر انداز نہ کرنا ہوگا کہ وہ اقبالؔ کی چال نہیں چلتا غالبؔ کے پیرائے سے متنفر ہے۔ اکبرؔ کی فردیت کے اجزا اس میں نہیں۔ بات یہ ہے کہ ہمیں اب شخصیت و انفرادیت کی بے حد قدر کرنا سیکھنا ہے اور کسی شخص کی

(۹) اردو ادبی تنقید
(۱۰) خان بہادر میر ناصر علی خاں
(۱۱) چینی شاعری
(۱۲) کبیر صاحب کی حیات
(۱۳) جدید اُردو افسانہ
(۱۴) ٹیگور اور اقبال
(۱۵) سورج نرائن مہر کی غزلیات

اب میں اُردو ادب کی موجودہ حالت۔ اُردو ادب کے مستقبل۔ اُردو زبان و ادب کی خصوصیات اور آزاد بھارت میں اُردو کے ادیبوں کی ضروریات کی طرف رجوع کرتا ہوں۔

اس وقت جن ادیبوں نے جن خوش بخت اور کامگار ادیبوں نے جماعت بندی کے ذریعہ سے یا مداحی کی تائید سے شہرت حاصل کرلی ہے اُن کی تعداد کافی ہے، پھر بھی اس عظیم و وسیع ملک کے اکناف و اطراف میں ایسے بہت سے اچھے لکھنے والے ہیں جو ابھی تک شہرت کے دربار میں رسا نہیں ہو سکے۔ ذاتی طور میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ ضروری نہیں شہرت وری کمال اندوزی کے مترادف ہو۔ اس اعتبار سے میری نظر میں اہل کمال سے مندرجہ ذیل اصحاب گنائے جا سکتے ہیں۔ یقیناً ایسے اور ہنر مند اور اہل فن ہوں گے جن کی تصانیف سے میں نابلد ہوں۔ یہ فہرست بھارت تک محدود ہے کاش کہ میری اس تجویز کو کوئی ادیب اور ناشر عملی جامہ پہنائیں یعنی اُردو ادب کا مُرقع Whos Who سالانہ اڈیشن کی قید سے شائع کیا کریں۔ یہ تجویز ہر دیسی صوبائی زبان کے لئے مفید ہوگی اس کام کو P.E.N. بین الاقوامی جماعت کی بھارتی شاخ اچھی طرح انجام دے سکتی ہے۔ ہندوؤں سکھوں میں کرشن چندر۔ تلوک چند محروم۔ کنہیا لال کپور۔ سپرو۔ فراق۔ راجندر سنگھ بیدی نہایت عمدہ ادیب ہیں۔ کرشن چندر میں پختہ کاری کا قوی عنصر ہے اس کی چوٹیں کاری ہوتی ہیں۔ اس کی طنز و مزاح روح کی گہرائیوں

کہ پچھلے ۳۵ سال میں نے اردو کی بے لوث خدمت میں گزارے ہیں اور دیگر مصروفیتوں سے برابر وقت نکال کر اردو کو نئی شاہراہوں پر لا ڈالنے کی سعی میں جٹا رہا ہوں۔

چند ماہ ہوئے میں نے بربادیٔ تقسیم سے شکستہ دلی کے عالم میں لکھے منتخب اشعار شائع کئے تھے۔ اس مجموعہ میں منورؔ لکھنوی اور سریرؔ اکبرآبادی کے ایک ایک سو بہترین اشعار بھی شامل کر لئے تھے۔ منورؔ، افقؔ صاحب کے نورِ نظر ہیں۔ آپ نے منجملہ دوسری تصانیف کے نظم میں کالی داس کے رِتو سنگار اور کمار سمبھو کا ترجمہ کیا ہے۔ بھگوت گیتا کا ترجمہ کیا ہے اور قرآن کریم کی متعدد آیات کا۔ آپ کو میں عصرِ حاضر کے بہترین مفکر شعراء میں شمار کرتا ہوں افسوس کہ وہ اقبالؔ، حسرتؔ، جوشؔ، دلؔ، کیفیؔ ایسے اپنے برگزیدہ معاصرین سے کما حقہٗ داد نہ حاصل کر سکے۔ یہ ہمارے ادب کی بدبختی ہے۔

ماہانہ رسالوں میں میرا تعلق مخزنؔ لاہور، شو شنبھو لاہور۔ صلائے عام دہلی۔ آجکلؔ دہلی، افسانہؔ لاہور۔ زمانہ کانپور علی گڑھ یونیورسٹی میگزین سے رہا ہے۔ خود بھی میں نے دو رسالے جاری کئے کلکتہ و رنگون سے ناوکؔ اور کانپور و لاہور سے ستارۂ صبح۔ اپنے چند مضامین کے عنوان دیتا ہوں جن سے اردو ادب میں کئے گئے اور ہو سکنے والے کام کا اندازہ ہو سکتا ہے:۔

(۱) اردو نظم میں ردیف قافیہ کی اہمیت اور اُن کی تاثیر و اثر
(۲) خواجہ آتشؔ اور حیات بعد الممات
(۳) اسرار التصوف اور حسرتؔ موہانی
(۴) نواب محبت خاں کی مثنوی اسرارِ محبت
(۵) اردو نظم میں Humanism یا جذبۂ انسانیت
(۶) منشی پریم چند کی ادبی روش
(۷) منشی پریم چند کی شخصیت
(۸) تحریر اور محررہ

میں محفوظ کردیے اور محققین اس سے مستفید ہوں۔ اردو ادب کی ترقی و تنزل سے جو اسباق ہمیں حاصل ہو سکتے ہیں ان میں یہ ایک نہایت اہم ہے۔ استادی شاگردی کے سلسلہ کو جاری رکھنا چاہیئے۔ اور شاگردوں کو اصلاح کا پورا فائدہ اٹھانا چاہیئے۔ تجربہ کی دولت مفت ہاتھ آتی ہو تو اس سے جھوٹی اور فضول ہیکڑی کے بس میں آکر کیوں گریز کیا جائے۔ حسرت اپنے تلامذہ میں میرا شمار نہیں کرتے مگر میں انھیں اپنا استاد مانتا ہوں اور مانتا رہوں گا انھوں نے الفاظ کے انتخاب کے بارے میں چند ایسے گر بتا دیئے کہ میں کہیں سے کہیں پہنچ گیا۔ مولانا کے کتب خانہ میں بھولی بسری چیزوں یا کبھی کسی کی نظر میں نہ چڑھی وقیع و حسین تصانیف کو دیکھ دیکھ کر مجھے خیال ہوا کہ کیوں نہ جدید اردو شاعری پر ایک محققانہ مقالہ Thesis لکھا جائے۔ اس ارادے کو تکمیل دینے میں میں نے پوری جاں فشانی سے کام لیا اور اس مقالہ کے لئے مجھے کلکتہ یونیورسٹی نے ڈاکٹر آف فلاسفی کی ڈگری عطا کی۔ اس مقالہ کی خاص بات یہ تھی کہ میں نے اردو شاعری کے مختلف شعبوں یا مدوں کا دوسری بھارتی زبانوں کے متوازی یا مماثل مدوں سے مقابلہ و موازنہ کیا تھا مثلاً اردو ڈرامائی نظم کا مرہٹی ڈرامائی نظم سے۔ اردو نیچرل شاعری کا گجراتی نیچرل شاعری سے۔ اردو تغزل کا بنگالی تغزل سے وغیرہ

یورپ سے لوٹنے کے بعد ایم اے کے طلبا کی ضرورتوں کو سامنے رکھ کر میں نے سنہ ۱۹۳۶ء میں تاریخ ادب اردو انگریزی میں لکھی سنہ ۱۹۴۶-۴۷ء میں میری "نئی دنیا" اور "چٹکیاں" شائع ہوئیں۔ نئی دنیا میں سنہ ۱۹۳۷ء میں شائع شدہ مجموعہ غزلیات "کیفیات" سے بالکل جداگانہ رنگِ سخن تھا۔ چٹکیاں مزاحیہ اور طنزیہ مضامین تھے۔ آپ نے دیکھا کہ میری کارگزاریوں میں کوئی کارنامہ تو نہیں۔ گو حسرت صاحب نے "دوشیزہ" کو کارنامہ کہا تھا اور حیدرآباد کے پروفیسر عبدالقادر سروری صاحب، گشتہ صاحب اور گجپت سرنداس نے کیفیات کو دورِ عدم اور۔ ڈاکٹر عبداللہ نے نئی دنیا کو خاصہ سراہا ہے مگر یہ تو صلاحیت ظاہر ہے۔

سنہ ۱۹۱۶ء میں میرا پہلا مجموعہ کلام موسوم بہ ترانۂ قدرت، رام کٹیا سے شائع ہوا۔ "رام کٹیا" سدرشن صاحب کی جائے رہائش کا نام تھا۔ مجھے فخر ہے کہ میری جوانی کے دوستوں میں سدرشن۔ پریم چند، بشمبر ناتھ شرما کوشک۔ بال کرشن شرما نوین۔ اختر۔ شنبھو ناتھ چوپڑہ سوز۔ دینا ناتھ آتش ایسے مقتدر و نامور ادیب تھے جن سے میں نے بہت کچھ سیکھا۔ "ترانۂ قدرت" اگر بے لاگ تنقید کے ہاتھ میں جاتی تو اسے وہی مرتبہ دیا جاتا جو انگریزی ادب میں Lyrical Ballads کے مصنفین کو دیا جاتا ہے مگر نہ تو سنہ ۱۹۱۷ء کے قدامت پسند ادیب میرے مظہرات انقلاب کو قبول لنے پر آمادہ تھے نہ سنہ ۱۹۴۷ء کے ترقی پسند اپنے پیشروؤں کو ترقی پسندی کا حامل ماننے پر راضی ہیں۔ میرا اشارہ اس ہئیتی اور مضمونی انقلاب کی طرف ہے جس کا علم "ترانۂ قدرت" نے پہلی مرتبہ بلند کیا تھا۔ ترانۂ قدرت کی خامیوں کا مجھے خوب احساس ہے۔ ابتدائے مشق میں ایسا ہوتا ہی ہے۔ سنہ ۱۹۲۲ء میں میں نے قیام کراچی کے دوران میں اپنی دو سو رباعیات کا انگریزی میں ترجمہ شائع کیا۔ انگریزی داں اصحاب کو لطف تو آیا مگر اردو کو وہ فارسی اور انگریزی کے برابر درجہ دینے کو تیار نہ تھے نہ ہی ٹیگوری طرز ابھی اتنی عام پسند ہوئی تھی۔ خیامی عنصر مجھ میں اس وقت نہ تھا۔ سنہ ۱۹۲۶ء میں مہربان زمانہ نے مجھے مولانا حسرت موہانی کی صحبت میں کانپور میں لا بٹھایا۔ پھر کیا تھا طبیعت نے جلا پائی۔ زبان پر قدرت حاصل ہوئی۔ بیان کی ایک جداگانہ نوعیت نصیب ہوئی۔ استادانہ اصلاح کی باریکیاں دیکھنے چکھنے کو ملیں اور میری دوسری نظمی تصنیف "دوشیزہ" وجود میں آئی۔ اس میں پختگی تو تھی ہی۔ ایک نئی بات بھی میں نے معمولاً پیدا کر دکھائی۔ اکثر نظمیں بنگال کے ایک مشہور مصور موزمدار کی تصاویر پر مبنی تھیں۔ پورا گلدستہ Pictonal Poetry کا ایک تحسین طلب نمونہ تھا جس طرح کہ ترانۂ قدرت اپنی انقلاب پسندی کا داد خواہ تھا۔

حسرت موہانی کی پولیس کی دست برد سے بچی کھچی لائبریری بھی ایک نہایت قابل قدر اور نایاب تصانیف کا ذخیرہ تھی، کاش کہ وہ کتب خانہ بھارت کی سرکار خرید کر دیتی ایسی جگہ

نثر میں اپنا خاص اسٹائل یا طرزِ بیان پیدا کیا اور اُردو تواریخی افسانہ، اردو مضمون، اُردو حیات نویسی کو عروج کے دن دکھائے۔ اختر مہرشی کے داماد تھے۔ اور اس اعتبار سے مہرشی کی قلمی امداد و معاونت اُن کو ایک مدت تک حاصل رہی۔ زمانہ کان پور کی داغ بیل مہرشی جی ہی کی ڈالی تھی۔ آپ نے چار سو کے قریب کتابیں لکھیں۔ اختر کے اس رسالہ میں بیسویں صدی کے پہلے پچیس سال کے تمام اعلیٰ ہندو ادیب اپنی اپنی تصنیف کے لئے حاضر رہتے تھے اور رسالہ کو ایک نہایت روح پرور بزم بنایا کرتے تھے۔ مجھے اس وقت پیارے لال رَونقؔ۔ وِنائک پرشاد طالبؔ۔ سورج نرائن مہرؔ ببیلی رام رامؔ۔ اقبال ورما سحرؔ۔ چندی پرشاد شیداؔ۔ لال چند فلکؔ۔ راج نرائن ارمانؔ۔ دوارکا پرشاد گہرؔ۔ بشیشور پرشاد منورؔ۔ شاد بجواڑیہ۔ پیارے لال شاکرؔ میرٹھی۔ شمبھو دیال سخنؔ مہاراج بہادر برقؔ۔ چندر بھان کیفیؔ۔ کندن لال شررؔ۔ میلارام وفاؔ۔ بال کرشن اکبرؔ۔ دیوان آنمانند شررؔ۔ کے نام یاد آتے ہیں۔ کس قدر انہماک کے ساتھ اور کس اُردو پرستی کے رنگ میں وہ لوگ خدمتِ ادب بجا لاتے تھے۔ کتنی شگفتہ اور شائستہ چیزیں لکھا کرتے تھے اور کتنا تنوع اپنی شاعری میں بھرتے تھے۔

میری دوسری کہانی سنہ ۱۹۱۶ء میں مستانہ جوگی" میں شائع ہوئی جس کا نام تھا "ویران مندر" جہاں تک عوام کی مزاج دانی اور مزاج داری اور حسنِ انتخاب اور لطفِ تنوع کا تعلق ہے ایسا دوسرا رسالہ میری نظر سے آج تک نہیں گزرا۔ خوشی کی بات ہے کہ صوفی لچھمن پرشاد صاحب تقسیم ہند کے بعد بھی اس رسالہ کو دہلی سے شائع کرتے چلے آتے ہیں۔ کسی اُردو رسالہ کو ماسوائے زمانہ کان پور کے اتنی لمبی عمر نصیب نہیں ہوئی۔ اس کہانی کا رنگ بالکل الگ تھا۔ اس میں تخیل اور تصور سے کام لیا گیا تھا۔ پڑھنے والوں کو اس قدر واقعاتی تفصیل مندر اور مندر کے واقعہ کے بارے میں مہیا کی گئی تھیں کہ اُسے گمان تک نہ ہو سکتا تھا کہ یہ ایک فرضی قصہ ہے

خطبۂ صدارت

(شعبۂ اردو)

از

جناب ڈاکٹر موہن سنگھ دیوانہ ایم۔ اے، پی۔ ایچ ڈی، ڈی۔ لٹ پروفیسر ایسٹ پنجاب یونیورسٹی

حضرات! سب سے پہلے میں استقبالیہ کمیٹی کے تمام ممبران کا بالخصوص سکریٹری صاحب ڈاکٹر دلگار کا احسان مند ہوں کہ انھوں نے مجھے صدارت کی کرسی کے لئے منتخب کیا اور مجھے یہ عزت بخشی۔

چند در چند وجوہ سے، حاضرین سے بیشتر میری خدمات ادب اردو سے نابلد ہیں۔ اس لئے تذکرے کے طور پر میں عرض کرنا چاہتا ہوں کہ اس زبان اور ادب سے میرا کیا تعلق رہا ہے؟ ذکر میں صرف انہیں کوائف کو لاؤں گا جن سے اردو کی گذشتہ چالیس سالہ تاریخ پر کچھ روشنی پڑتی ہو اور اردو سے متعلق میرے نظریوں اور عمل پیرائیوں کا حال کھلتا ہو۔

غالباً سنہ ۱۵-۱۹۱۴ء میں میری سب سے پہلی مختصر کہانی لاہور کے "شیو شمبھو" میں شائع ہوئی اس کا نام "جوگی" تھا اس میں میں نے اپنے قریۂ ولادت کی جغرافیائی کیفیت کو پس منظر بنایا تھا۔ شیو شمبھو اور اس کے مدیر گوری شنکر لال اختر نے اردو نظم و نثر کی جو خدمت کی اس کارنامہ کو کبھی بھلایا نہیں جاسکتا۔ یہ اور بات ہے کہ فرقہ وارانہ ذہنیت کے اثر میں لکھی تواریخ میں نہ اختر کا نام ملتا ہے نہ مہرشی شیو برت لال کا جنھوں نے اردو

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IV. PAPERS

Note :—The following are a few papers selected from those that have been recommended for publication in the Proceedings by the Section Presidents as indicated on pp. 29-37 above. Some papers have been taken away by their authors with the permission of the Section Presidents immediately at the close of the session, for being published elsewhere and naturally the Section Presidents' recommendations make no reference to them. Our selection is made on *practical grounds* only. It is deeply regretted that all papers so recommended could not be published owing to insurmountable difficulties due to high cost of paper and printing. On p. 30 above, an asterisk should be put on 27 (a) as this is left through oversight.

I. On the Etymology of Three Words in Ṛgveda

नीहार, निहाका ऽ निगुत्.

By Acharya V. P. Limaye, Poona.

नीहार occurs only once in ऋग्वेद in the following ऋक्:—

" न तं विदाथ य इमा जजान अन्यद्युष्माकं अन्तरं बभूव ।
नीहारेण प्रावृता जल्प्या च असुतृप उक्थशासश्चरंति ॥"
10. 82. 7.

सायण in his भाष्य does not derive the word, but merely explains as follows :—" नीहारसदृशेन अज्ञानेन.....यथा नीहारो नात्यन्तमसन् दृष्टेरावरकत्वात् नाप्यत्यन्तं सन् काष्ठपाषाणादिरूपान्तरेण संबद्धुमयोग्यत्वात् " He takes it for granted that everybody knows its meaning i.e. 'mist'. In later Vedic literature, we come across नीहार in the following, among others :—

" शं ते नीहारो भवतु शं ते प्रुष्वा अवशीयतां । अथर्ववेद 18 3.60.
" मरीचीर्धूमान् प्र विशानु पाप्मन् उदारान् गच्छ उत वा नीहारान् ।
नदीनां फेनाँ अनु तान् विनश्य भ्रूणघ्नि पूषन् दुरितानि मृक्ष्व ॥
अथर्ववेद 6. 113. 2.

(where उदारान् नीहारान् means 'rising fog,' personified as spirits or deities according to Monier Williams).

> " सर्वान् मरीचीन् विततान् नीहारो यच्च शीयते ।" तै. ब्रा. ३. १२. ७. ३.
> (सा० जलपरमाणुसमूहो अध: पतन् नीहारः)
> " तयोः एतौ वत्सौ ऊष्मा च नीहारश्च । वृत्रस्य ऊष्मा वैद्युतस्य नीहारः ।
> तै. ब्रा. १. १०. ७.

> " यदुल्बं समेधो नीहारः " छां. उ. ३. १९. २."
> " नीहारधूमार्कानिलानलानां " श्वे. उ. २. ११.

सायण in his भाष्य on तै. ब्रा. 3. 12. 7.3 clearly suggests the derivation of नीहार as नि+हृ (अधःपतन्). Grassmann in his dictionary is doubtful about this etymology but suggests nothing else in its place. On the contrary he definitely suggests the word-formation of नीहार as नीहार्+अ. Walde and Pokorny have not said anything about this word and two others we are discussing.

Now about the second word निहाका. It occurs only once in ऋग्वेद ; we do not meet with it in later literature.

> " साकं यक्ष्म प्र पत चाषेण किकिदीविना ।
> " साकं वातस्य ध्राज्या साकं नश्य निहाकया ।। ऋ. १०. ९७. १३.

शाकल्य in his पदपाठ splits निहाकया as नि and हाकया. सायण and Grassmann follow शाकल्य in this respect. This derivation (नि+हा) yields the meaning of निहाका as "Going down." But these two differ in their ultimate meaning of the word निहाका. सायण says, निहाका is गोधिका a kind of lizard, thus connecting the word with the two words चाष and किकिदीविन् (two kinds of birds). Grassmann, on the other hand, takes निहाका to mean, 'Thunderstorm' which 'Penetrates downwards' and thus connects it with वातस्य ध्राज्या, which, I think, he is perfectly justified in doing. But he seems to have no reasoning to support him, except the association of निहाका with व्रातस्य ध्राजि. In this connection, it will be worthwhile to have a look at the word निह् in अथर्ववेद (2. 6. 5).

> " अति निहो अति स्रिधो अति अचित्तीः अति द्विषः ।
> विश्वा हि अग्ने दुरिता तर त्वं अथास्मभ्यं सहवीरं रयिं दाः ।।"
> (महीधर connects निह् with निहन्तृ).

Now about the last word निगुत्. निगुत् occurs twice in ऋग्वेद and its derivative नैगुत only once. It is not met with in subsequent literature. Here are the quotations :—

> " महीमे अस्य वृषनाम शूषे माँश्चत्वे वा पृशने वा वधत्रे ।
> अस्वापयन् निगुतो स्नेहयच्च अपामित्राँ अपाचितो अचेतः ।।
> ऋ. ९. ९७. ५४

" अग्ने मन्युं प्रतिनुदन् परेषां अदब्धो गोपाः परि पाहि नस्त्वं ।
प्रत्यञ्चो यन्तु निगुतः पुनस्ते अमैषां चित्तं प्रबुधो वि नेशत् ॥
ऋ. १०. १२८. ६

"उत न एना पवया पवस्व अधि श्रुते श्रवाय्यस्य तीर्थे ।
षष्टिं सहस्रा नैगुतो वसूनि वृक्षं न पक्वं धूनवद्रणाय ॥"
ऋ. ९. ९७. ५३

The meaning of the word निगुत् is unanimously taken as 'Hostile enemy'; context suggests no other meaning. शाकल्य, सायण and Grassmann all derive the word from नि+गु. गु is taken to be the same root गु, which gives us the intensive जोगुवान. सायण on 9.97.54: "....सोयं निगुतः नीचैः शब्दायमानान् शत्रून् अस्वापयत् ताभ्यां असूषुपत् । अवधीत् इत्यर्थ. । किंच स्नेहयत् प्राद्रवयत् संग्रामात् शत्रून् ।......"; सा. on १०. १२८. ६. "......ते शत्रवः प्रत्यञ्चः प्रत्यञ्चन्तः प्रतिनिवर्तमानाः निगुतः । 'गुङ् अव्यक्ते शब्दे । अस्मात् क्विपि तुक् । भयेन गद्गदरूपं अव्यक्तं शब्दं नितरां कुर्वन्तः पुनः यन्तु स्वकीयं स्थानं पुनर्गच्छन्तु । अपि च प्रबुधां प्रबुध्यमानानां एषां शत्रूणां चित्तं ज्ञानसाधनं मनः अमा सह युगपदेव वि नेशत् विनश्यतु ।.....) सा on ९. ९७. ५३ "नैगुतः नीचीनं गवंते शब्दायंते इति निगुतः शत्रवः । तेषां हन्तृत्वेन संबंधी सोऽयं सोमः ।......". It is now clear that सायण has not succeeded in giving clearly the derivation of the word निगुत्.

In this paper I propose to find out whether there is a common सूत्र running through these three मणिs. It so happened that I was reading recently ऋ. १. ७४. २.

" यः स्नीहितीषु पूर्व्यः संजग्मानासु कृष्टिसु । अक्षरद् दाशुषे गयं ॥" (सा० स्नीहितीषु वधकारिणीषु कृष्टिषु शत्रुभूतासु प्रजासु संजग्मानासु संगतासु सतीषु....स्नीहितीषु । 'ष्णिह् स्नेहने । चुरादिः । स्नेहयति' [निघण्टु २. १९. १३.] इति वधकर्मसु पठितः । स्नेह्यन्ते हिंस्यन्ते प्रजा आभिरिति स्नेहितयः ।......व्यत्ययेन एकारस्य ईकारादेशः ।....).

I referred the word स्निह् to Grassmann. He gave the meaning "to grow damp, wet," and in the causal स्नेहय 'to destroy, to annihilate,' evidently suggested by निघण्टु. As I was pondering over the meaning of स्निह् and स्नेहय, the idea struck me that स्निह् is at the root of the word नीहार, with the initial स् elided, as in the case of नौ and तायु and आर as the termination, as in the case of अंगार, in meaning the exact opposite of नीहार. In deriving words one must always try to follow यास्क's dictum "अर्थनित्यः परीक्षेत" (निरुक्त २. १). One must examine the etymology of a word, always keeping one's mind firmly fixed on its meaning. स्निह–ष्णिह् "to become wet" gives the word नीहार its meaning 'moisture, fog, snow, mist'; पदपाठ gives नीहारेण as one word and does not suggest splitting of the word as नि(नी)हारेण and it is but in the fitness of things that it is so. As I began to examine other words, I came across two other words

(निहाका+निगुत्) under consideration at present. The meaning of निहाका as 'thunder storm' easily fits in with this etymology (स्निह्) i. e. (निह+आका as the termination. Now the question remains about the relationship between निगुत् and स्निह् (निह्). At this stage out of curiosity and desire to receive some help and guidance, I looked up to Walde and Pokorny. To my surprise and joy, I found स्नेह, स्निह्यति स्नेहयति, स्निग्ध under the basic root : "Sneiguh, Singuh, snoig u hos" all meaning 'to snow' in English and to Sehneien' in German. In Avestan, 'Snaezenti' means a snowy day. The same root gives G. K. 'Nifa' (with 's' dropped) and Latin =Nix (akin to सं. निह् which we have met in अथर्ववेद.) Nivis Nivit, and the nasalised forms 'ninguit' (ninxit), which last without the nasal clearly gives निगुत्. This formation of निगुत् (निग्+उत् as the termination) is akin to मरुत् (मर्+उत् as the termination). This discussion shows that the original root was स्निघ् which gave both स्निह् and स्निग् as the more simple forms of स्निघ् and then gave निह and निग् with the dropping of the initial स्. Snow, mist or frost does, by its dampness, annihilate crops, etc. I think this meaning of the word स्निघ् (स्निघ्) is responsible for giving us the word सिंघ सिंघण, सिंग and in ऋ. 'सिंह' which means 'a lion, the destroyer' Traditional derivation of the word सिंह is from हिंस् by वर्णविपर्यय. Grassmann derives it from सह्. I am inclined to reject both and accept Walde and Pokorny, who give 'Singho' as the basic word in सिंह, but who fail to adduce any further evidence in other old languages. Now we shall look to the passages already quoted in ऋ. giving the word निगुत् or नैंगुत, more closely.

" प्रत्यञ्चो यन्तु निगुतः पुनस्ते अमा एषां चित्तं प्रबुधां विनेशत् ।
१. १२८. ६.

I think the पदपाठ is wrong in giving अमा as the पद instead of मा. In 9. 97. 54 we read "अस्वापयत् निगुतः स्नेहयच्च". This clearly shows that the deity made the निगुतs sleep (स्वप्) (a meaning similar to that in ते निगुतः पुनः प्रत्यञ्चो यन्तु") and annihilated them (स्नेहयच्च); here we have the two words निगुतः and स्नेहयत् placed in juxta-position as to suggest their common origin (स्निघ्); and again those who go to sleep and those who keep awake (प्रबुध्) are put side by side in glaring contrast, hence I have proposed the change in पदपाठ। "मा एषां चित्तं प्रबुधां व नेशत्" both the पादs giving the cogent meaning as follows :—

"Let the attacking demons or enemies go to dogs or to sleep again ; on the contrary, the mind of those who are awake, let it not perish."

I further want to propose a slight change in ऋग्वेद 9. 97. 53

" षष्टिं सहस्रा नैंगुतो वसूनि "। पदपाठः " नैंगुतः वसूनि "

I would suggest नैगुता, instead of नैगुतो, to go with वसूनि rather than with far–fetched and अध्याहृत–सोमः, or to obviate a change in संहिता, I would suggest two पदs for नैगुतो (नैगुता+उ पादपूरण); this change would give a good meaning "Sixty thousand rich articles belonging to the enemy."

I began to unravel the tangle of the derivation of नीहार, निहाका and निगुत् when I pondered over स्नीहितीषु क्रुष्टिषु संजग्मानासु (ऋ. १. ७४. २) (which, incidentally reminds one of भगवद्गीता १.१ समवेताः युयुत्सवः मामकाः पाण्डवाः च....) and I shall end this paper by giving a quotation or two, available in ऋग्वेद and सामवेद regarding the word स्नी (स्ने) हितिः

> "आवत् तं इन्द्रः शच्या धमन्तं अप स्नेहितीः नृमणाः अधत्त"
> ऋ. ८. ९६. १३.
>
> (सा० स्नेहितीः । स्नेहतिः वधकर्मसु पठितः । सर्वस्य हिंसित्रीः
> तस्य सेनाः अप अधत्त । अपधानं हननं । अवधीत् इत्यर्थः ।)
> "अप स्नीहितिं नृमणो अधद्राः "सामवेद १. ४. १. ४. १.
> (सा० "अप......अधद्राः" इत छंदोगाः पठंति).

2. The Ṛgvedic Conception of a Brother

By Prof. D. N. Shastri, Meerut.

Comparative philology throws light on the dark ages of the distant Past which are beyond the reach of History. If we know that a certain word was in use at a particular time, we may be sure that the ideas or institutions connoted by that word must have existed at that time. Words denoting principal family relationships such as father, mother, brother, sister, etc., are common in all Indo-European Languages, Sanskrit, Iranian, Slavonic, Greek, Latin and Teutonic, etc. From this we can infer that these relationships had already developed when the fore-fathers of the peoples speaking Indo-European languages were living together in their original common home-land, be it Southern Europe, Western Europe, Siberia or the Steppe country of South-East European Russia. In some cases the root-meaning of a word may also give some insight into the nature of the relationship connected by the word. Besides, we have in Ṛgveda a very early record of Indo-European people. Although this record relates only to the Indo-Aryan branch of the family, it may furnish, in some cases, evidence of primitive Indo-European conceptions and customs in general. The present paper proposes to discuss a special feature in the conception of relationship of brother.

Ordinarily the meaning of the relationship of brother is a male person considered in relation to another person having the same parents. This conception is clearly indicated in the Ṛgvedic verse addressed jointly to Indra and Agni :—

Samāno vāṃ janitā bhratarā yuvam.

Ṛgveda VI. 59·2

You have been born of one common father and hence you are brothers.

Scrutiny of the root-meaning of the Indo-European words for brother, and of some of the Ṛgvedic hymns, however, discloses that originally the relationship of brother was conceived with special reference to sister, i.e. a brother was a brother primarily to a sister, and only secondarily to another Brother. It appears that brotherly relationship originally primarily originated between a brother and a sister. It was extended as existing between a brother and a brother only in a secondary sense, i.e., because both were brothers to a common sister, or because the two brothers were born of the same parents as the sister. And on that analogy the relationship of brother would exist between two brothers even if there was no sister. Besides the evidence of Philology and the Ṛgvedic customs, there is subsidiary evidence of Indian tradition which also supports the above thesis.

The Vedic or Sanskrit word for brother is 'bhrātṛ' (भ्रातृ) or more appropriately 'bhrātar' (भ्रातर्)[1]. We find variants of the same word in all Indo-European languages :—

Bratar in Zend (Old Persian)
Broter in Lithuanian
Bratru in Slavonic
in Greek
Frater in Latin
Brother in Gothic
Bruoder or Bruder in German.

The Indo-European root for these variants has not been indisputably settled. But taking our clue from the Sanskrit word 'bhrātṛ' it can, in all probability, be traced to the root √bhṛ (भृ[2]) to hold or to support. Corresponding Indo-European roots are : √bar in Zend √φερω in Greek, √fero in Latin and √bear in English, which all have the same or the allied sense. This would suggest that the idea of bearing or supporting was originally associated with the conception of a brother. And this would be applicable only with reference to a sister. Scholars did not fail to note this fact while tracing the word bhrātṛ to root √bhṛ.[3] Our present thesis is only a logical corollary of the same.

The hint given by the root-meaning of the term 'bhrātṛ' is fully confirmed by the evidence of the Ṛgveda. In the Ṛgveda it is the brother of a girl who is principally concerned, even more than her father, with her support or protection. It seems to be only at a later stage of the Ṛgvedic period that the father assumes the responsibility of his daughter. Thus it is only in the tenth book of the Ṛgveda which is admittedly of a later date that we come across the well-known Sūryā hymn where the bride is given away by her father to the bridegroom, and brother does not play any part. But in the hymns of early books, brother of a girl seems to occupy a more important position than the father. It is an oft-repeated idea of Ṛgveda that a girl without a brother is likely to be seduced and go astray, girls who lead loose lives and resort to questionable ways for earning riches or exhibit themselves before the assemblage of people are invariably declared to be brotherless, and not even in one case as fatherless. It would be appropriate to illustrate this point by quoting a few verses.

In the following verse the goddess of Dawn is compared to a brotherless girl who seeks men for winning wealth :—

Abhrāteva Puṃsa eti pratīcī
gartārugiva Sanaye dhanānām

Ṛgveda I. 124·7

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[1] Supposition of 'bhrātṛ' as the basic noun (Prātipadika) is a grammatical contingency. But as a matter of fact, 'bhrātaṛ' must have been the basic form.

[2] भृञ् भरणे class I, भृञ् धारणपोषणयो : class III, Orthodox lexiconists and grammarians derive it from भ्राज् तृच् but that is extremely far-fetched and not at all philologically tenable.

[3] See Macdonell and Keith : Vedic Index under 'bhrātṛ'.

Like a brotherless woman the goddess of Dawn mounts her car and seeks men to gather riches.[4]

The verse is quoted in Yāska's Nirukta also in connection with deprecation of a brotherless girl. Further with regard to men of a sinful nature it is said :—

Abhrātaro na yoṣaṇa vyantaḥ
patiripo na janayo durevāḥ

Ṛgveda IV. 5·5

They go astray like brotherless women who hate their husbands and who are of evil conduct.

Thus the brotherless girls not only go astray and take recourse to evil life, but they also hate their husbands which may mean that either they are averse to marriage or even if they marry they do not remain faithful to their husbands. The latter alternative suggests the idea that a brother's presence helps woman to live upto the ideals of higher morality and to remain faithful to her husband. And perhaps for that reason it was enjoined that one should not marry a brotherless girl[5] although by doing so one was likely to inherit the property of a sonless father-in-law.[6]

It appears that in rare cases some meritless persons procured brides by paying handsome price to their fathers. On the other hand there is also mention of rich dowries being paid to the bride-groom. Strangely enough in a Ṛgvedic verse there is side by side a reference to handsome amounts paid by a meritless son-in-law to the bride's father and also to bounteous gifts given by a brother as dowry to his sister's husband. The bounty of gods, Indra and Agni, is praised in the following verse thus :—

Aśravaṃ bhūridāvattarā vāṃ.
vijāmāturuta vā ghā Syālāt.

I have heard that you give wealth more freely than a meritless son-in-law or even a bride's brother.

This verse indicates that a person who procures a bride by giving money to her father is proverbially known for his unstinted liberality. But where a girl is honourably given in marriage by her brother the bounteous and liberal dowry given by the latter to his sister's husband was still more proverbial. It is very significant here that in case where a girl is given for money, it is the father of the girl who receives money from his son-in-law, but in this case of an honourable marriage it is *her brother and not father* who gives riches to the bride-groom ! Brother's relation to a sister is thus that of honour unalloyed.[7]

A hint that it is a brother's responsibility to see his sister blessed with a husband is implied in the following verse of the famous Ṛgvedic dialogue between Yama, the brother, and Yamī, the sister :—

Kiṃ bhrātāsadyadanātham bhavāti—Ṛgveda X. 10·11.

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[4] Yāska interprets this verse in a different way but that interpretation is not convincing.

[5] 'Nābhratrīmupayaccheta : Nirukta' Naigama K. III. 5. This seems to be an old quotation.

[6] See Nirukta. Naigama K. III. 4-6.

[7] Of course in the Sūryā hymn of tenth book of the Rgveda it is father of the girl who gives the dowry. But obviously it is not so in earlier hymns.

What is a brother when a sister is left without a husband !

Of course Yamī is tempting her brother to incest but in doing so, she hints at the responsibility of brother to get a husband for his sister.

In the context of all the verses quoted above we should ordinarily have expected the mention of father rather than of brother. Similarly a girl going astray should, in the first instance, be described as fatherless rather than brotherless. It becomes now obvious that in Ṛgveda it is brother, and not father, who is primarily concerned with upholding the honour of a girl and her marriage. The significance of this fact has not been properly assessed. Not only it has been overlooked, but scholars have unwittingly introduced confusion in the matter. In the hymns of the Ṛgveda where brotherless girls are mentioned some scholars, without any justification, have added that such girls might have been fatherless also. For example, referring to the verses of Ṛgveda (I. 124·7 and IV . 5·5) which have been quoted above, Dr. Abinas Chandra Das says in his learned work, Ṛgvedic Culture, that "a fatherless and brotherless spinster was considered unlucky and pitied, as she was in danger of being seduced and going astray."[8] Obviously in these verses there is not the slightest indication of these spinsters being fatherless. Even punctilious scholars like Macdonell and Keith in their Vedic Index observe that in Vedic literature the brother plays the part of protector of his sister when *bereft of her father.*[9] (*Italics ours*). Is there any justification for adding the words 'bereft of father.' The plain reason for this unjustified suggestion is that these scholars did not realize that in the Ṛgveda brother of a girl plays more important role than her father.

It is quite natural that amongst the martial people as the Ṛgvedic Aryans certainly were, the duty of supporting and protecting a girl should devolve on her brother, a young man, in full fighting trim rather than on her father, a man of declining age. It appears that marriage was not in those days a peaceful operation as it was in the age of the Sūryā hymn of the X book of Ṛgveda. 'Vivāha' the Sanskrit word for marriage derived from the root *vi* plus *vah* literally means 'carrying off' in which there is some implication of force. The bridal procession, and more particularly the custom of keeping a man standing with a stick in his hand, and another ready with water-pitcher, at the time of marriage ceremony must have been symbolic remnants of realities of an older age when marriage might have been a war-like affair in which there used to be provision to meet the hostile action of the rival group. In such a context, a brother young and endowed with heroic martial spirit must be the support and refuge of a young girl rather than her old father. Protection and support of a sister was thus conceived as the fundamental duty of a brother.

The same conception of brother continues in the age of the Atharvaveda. Girls without brother are described as bereft of their power and lustre (varcas), and they have been compared in the following Atharvan verse to veins, which as if by an incantation are ordered to stand quiet being reft of the power, like sisters who are brotherless :—

Abhrātara iva jāmayastiṣṭhantu hatavarcasaḥ. AV I. 17·1.[10]

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[8] A. C. Das : Ṛgvedic Culture. P. 368.

[9] Macdonell and Keith : Vedic Index vol. II, p. 113, under the words bhrātṛ.

[10] This verse is quoted in Yāska's Nirukta in a slightly changed form. Nirukta Naigama Kāṇḍa III.

The present thesis is further confirmed by the examination of the literal meaning of the word for sister current in Sanskrit. The old Vedic word for sister is Svasṛ (स्वसृ). Even a probable root-meaning of this word is beyond conjecture.[11] But the current Sanskrit word is 'bhaginī' (भगिनी) from which all the words in modern Aryan Indian languages like Bahin (Hindi) Bahiṇa (Marathi) Ben (Gujarati) or Bon (Bengali) are derived. The literal meaning of this term is one who possess 'Bhaga' which means prosperity or fortune, i.e. a girl who is fortunate in having a brother or brothers. Orthodox-lexiconists have interpreted the meaning of this word in quite a farfetched and arbitrary way. They say that 'bhaga' means effort and therefore the sense of the term is one who always endeavours to get money from her father.[12] In the first instance this is not likely that the word for sister should give the malicious suggestion of girls' habit of snatching money from their fathers. This could occur only to lexiconists of the degenerated age when women were slighted in every way. The most important point, however, is that the conception of sister should have a reference to brother and not to father. In this connection it is also significant to note that the dual number of bhrātṛ i.e. bhrātarau (भ्रातरौ) according to Pāṇini's grammar means a brother and a sister, and not two brothers.[13] This also confirms the suggestion that the relationship of brother is primarily concerned in relation to a sister, and only secondarily in relation to another brother.

The ideal of brother's duty to a sister has been preserved in unbroken tradition of dialects and customs of our country. In the Punjabi dialect the word 'Vīra' (वीर), and the same word or its variant 'vīran' (वीरन) in some Hindi dialects is used for brother. But peculiarity of this usage is that unlike other words for brother, it is used only in relation to a sister and seldom in relation to another brother. This usage has a special significance. The primary meaning of this word in Ṛgveda and many other Indo-European languages is a male person and secondarily it came to mean a person endowed with male strength and courage. The fact that a word which connoted manly heroism should be used for brother only with reference to a sister is important. This clearly indicates that fundamental idea in the relationship of brother was supporting and upholding honour of a sister. This noble sentiment is preserved in customs such as 'Rakṣābandhana' where a thread offered by a sister and worn by a brother means a pledge by the latter to protect honour of a sister at the cost of his life. Similarly the festive day called Bhrātṛ-dvitīyā (भ्रातृद्वितीया) celebrates the affectionate relation between sister and a brother and not between two brothers.

We, thus, find that the evidence of philology and of the hymns of the Ṛgveda as well as the traditions of Indian culture—all go to support the thesis that the relationship of brother was conceived primarily with reference to a sister, and only secondarily to another brother.

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[11] The derivation given in Uṇadi as सुञ् + अस् + ऋ is hardly plausible.

[12] भगं यत्न : पित्रादीनां द्रव्यादानेऽस्त्यस्या : इति इनि : (वाचस्पत्य :)

[13] भ्रातृपुत्रौ स्वसृदुहितृभ्याम् Pāṇini I-ii. 68.

3. Two Vedic Words : *upāṃśu* and *tūṣṇīm*

By Prof. L. Renou, Paris.

The Vedic word *upāṃśu* applies itself, in the ritual language, to a mantra which is pronounced "in a low voice". The word is distinct from *tūṣṇīm*, which means "silently" and applies to a rite which is executed without any recited mantra. As Manu says (II·85) "a prayer inaudible (to others) (=*upāṃśu*) surpasses a hundred times (a sacrifice performed according to the rules, whereas) muttered prayers are (only) ten times more efficacious".

The word *upāṃśu* is unexpected. As says Böhtlingk-Roth, it has evidently to be divided into *upa* and *aṃśu*. The connection *upa* and *aṃśu* already appears in RV. IV. 58, 1 *upāśunā sam amṛtatvam ānat* "(the water where the soma is pressed) has attained immortality along with the (soma-) stalks". But how to get therefrom the meaning of "low-voiced" ? At least, that very passage shows that the junction *upa* and *aṃśu* was well established in the use.

In order to explain the word, it is necessary to start from the ritual. We have on one hand *aṃśugraha* (*aṃśuyāja aṃśusavana*), on the other hand *upāṃśugraha* (*upāṃśuyāja upāṃśusavana*). It may be that the first series is not warranted in the older literature, but such a passage as S.Br. IV. 1, 1, 2 "there is a *graha* called *aṃśu*, that is Prajāpati : his breathing is this (*graha*), and because it is his breathing, therefore it is called *upāṃśu*" shows that both words, *aṃśu* and *upāṃśu*, are felt as parallel. Besides *aṃśugraha* or °*savana* which refers to the ordinary "drawing (of soma)" or "pressing (of soma-) stalks", *upāṃśusavana* means the "sub-pressing" or "secondary pressing". In the Agniṣṭoma and connected ritual, before the ordinary pressing, there is a smaller pressing (*kṣullakābhiṣavaṇa*) which is also called *upāṃśusavana*. In this pressing, the number of operations is reduced, the number of mantras is also reduced. The mantras themselves are to be recited "with the voice held back", cf. Caland-Henry, L'Agniṣṭoma p. 150 and Ś. Br. III. 9, 4, 6.

It may be supposed, of course, that the expression *upāṃśu* is due to the fact that in the smaller *savana*, the Soma-juice is being poured through Soma-stalks used as strainers ; at the ordinary pressing, it is passed through the *daśāpavitra*. But this fact would not account for the secondary meaning "low-voiced".

Outside the Soma-ritual, the word *upāṃśuyāja* has been used to designate the oblations of butter made for Viṣṇu and for Agni-Soma during the *pradhāna* of the New and Full-Moon Sacrifice ; here also, the stanzas and the names of the gods are given low-voiced, the yajus's and praiṣas, a little higher, cf. Hillebrandt, Neu=und Vollmondsopfer, p. 111.

For short, the word *upāṃśu* alone points out the *graha* itself. But in the ordinary use, it has taken the meaning of "silent (ly)."

Tūṣṇīm also is an interesting word, although the etymology is perfectly clear. It derives from *tuṣ-* "to be satisfied". The word **tuṣṇi* is known in the Avesta : *tušnisad* "seated silently" Yast XIII. 29 and *tušnāmati* "silent thought" Yasna XLIII. 15 (where *-ā* may be the Loc. sing. of the stem *tusni*, cf. Duchesne-Guillemin, Composés de l 'Avesta, p. 12). So the Indo-Iranian word may have already possessed the meaning of "silent." But, necessarily, the first meaning was something like "satisfied". The only form of the verbal root we find in the Ṛgveda is the factitive *tuṣayantī* with the probable value of "satisfying, seeking to satisfy." From that comes the secondary meaning of "being quiet" and then "being silent" ; the French expression "se tenir coi," where *coi* comes from Lat. *quietus* "tranquil," is equivalent to "to be silent." It is a kind of euphemistic evolution. As well as *śamayati* "to pacify" or *saṃjñāpayati* "to make consent" have resulted into "to kill" in the Vedic ceremonial, as well as Lat. *favere linguis* "to favour by the speech" has become "to keep silence," or even Greek *euph`mein* "to tell auspicious words" has become "to keep silence," so from "to let be satisfied" we easily get "to let be silent" ; the Vedic verb *ram-* means together "to please" and "to stop, to pause." It is to be noted that, in the only passage of the Ṛksaṃhitā where we find the word *tūṣṇīm* (II. 43, 3), the matter is about a bird who is invited, if she "speaks," to "speak good luck to us," and if she sits silently, to "think on us with kind thoughts" ; *tūṣṇīm* is here quite near to *sumatim* and reminds one of the aforesaid Avestic word *tusnāmati*.

The semantic evolution is the same with RV. *joṣam* which means "willingly," "as (he) likes" and the later *joṣam* (from the Mahābhārata on) which means "silently" ; *joṣam āste* may have been influenced by *tūṣṇīm āste*.

Two smaller points remain to be elucidated :

(a) the *ū* in *tūṣṇīm* is a reflex of the tendency to lengthen the *ī* and *ū* before a *ṣ*. So we find in the Ṛksaṃhitā : *dūṣayati mūṣ pūṣan īṣate ūṣman yūṣan śūṣa sajūṣ rīṣant tarūṣas*, some suffixes in *-īṣa- -ūṣa-*, desideratives in *-īṣati- -ūṣati*, most of them being founded on older forms with short *ī* or *ū*. After the Ṛgveda : *īṣat pratyūṣa (s) rūṣita cūṣyate uddhūṣita apīṣan* (AS.) *pūṣema* (AS. XIX 67, 5) *abhyūṣa*, and many others.

(b) the final *-īm* is an old adverbial accusative, as we find in *idānīm* and connected forms, *īm sīm nakīm* and alike. It may be compared with the Latin adverbial final *-tim* in *praesertim* and alike.

4. The Problem of the Rasavadalaṁkāra[1]

By Prof. M. Hiriyanna, Mysore.

The Rasavadalaṁkāra is one of a small group of *alaṁkāras*, generally recognised by the older writers on Sanskrit Poetics. Some of these *alaṁkāras* are differently explained sometimes,[2] but they all relate to emotional states. It is with this, their common feature, that we shall be concerned here, and not with any of their internal differences. Our choice of the Rasavadalaṁkāra for specific consideration here is as a type representing the whole group, and what we say of it will apply *mutatis mutandis* to the other members of it also. We shall not accordingly refer to any of the latter, except when they illustrate some point that is of importance to our topic.

I

The significance of describing this as an *alaṁkāra*[3] is that it is an attribute of poetry—essential according to some, but only desirable according to others. As, however, poetry is defined as *śabdārthau sahitau*,[4] an *alaṁkāra* may embellish either its form or its content. The Rasavadalaṁkāra, being an *arthālaṁkāra*, contributes to the beauty of poetry, not on its formal but on its content side. Our present purpose is to find out whether such a view is tenable.

We have stated that the Rasavadalaṁkāra embellishes the content side of poetry. Since this content is acknowledged here to be *vācya*,[5] the Alaṁkāra may be described as *vācyopaskāraka* or subserving the meaning directly expressed in poetry. But a question now arises as to whether this Alaṁkāra itself is *vācya* or not. Two views seem theoretically possible in this regard : It should be *vācya*, if we may judge, for instance, from Daṇḍin's definition of *preyolaṁkāra*[6] which is one of the group ; and Udbhaṭa's statement that one of the means of communicating an emotion to the reader is to name it, for example, as *rati* or *śṛṅgāra*[7] lends support to the same conclusion. But, at the same time, the use of expressions like *sūcana* in this connection[8] by the latter, and *gamayati* and *gamaka* by his commentators suggests that the Alaṁkāra may not be *vācya*. Since, however, no *vyaṅgyārtha* is admitted by the older writers, it should, in that case, be indirectly known—through some form of inference, say, *arthāpatti*. As it is not easy to decide between these alternatives, viz. whether the Rasavadalaṁkāra is *vācya* or not, we shall refer to both the possibilities in the consideration of our subject.

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[1] I am grateful to Dr. V. Raghavan of Madras for his kindness in reading the draft of this Paper and making suggestions which were of much use to me in revising it.

[2] Contrast e.g. Daṇḍin's view of *ūrjasvi* (ii. 293-4) with that of Udbhaṭa (iv. 5).

[3] These old writers sometimes appear to grant the pre-eminent position of *rasa* in poetry, commonly recognised by later writers. Cf. Bhāmaha, i, 21, v. 3. But it is not a well-articulated view, and seems only to be a formal echo of what is found in Bharata (Cf. *Na hi rasādṛte kaścidarthaḥ pravartate*) and is sometimes expressed by poets themselves.

[4] Bhāmaha i. 16.

[5] We are overlooking the distinction between *vācya* and *lakṣya*, as it is not of importance to our purpose here.

[6] *Preyaḥ priyatarākhyānam* (ii. 275).

[7] *Sva-śabda-sthāyi-saṁcāri-vibhāvābhinayāspadam* : iv. 3.

[8] Cf. iv. 2.

(1) Let us first select the view that the Rasavadalaṁkāra is *vācya* or directly expressed ; and for this purpose, let us examine briefly the instance which Udbhaṭa gives of it :

इति भावयतस्तस्य समस्तान् पार्वतीगुणान् ।
संभृतानल्पसंकल्पः कन्दर्पः प्रबलोऽभवत् ।।
स्विद्यतापि स गात्रेण बभार पुलकोत्करम् ।
कदम्बकलिकाकोशकेसरप्रकरोपमम् ।।
क्षणमौत्सुक्यगर्भिण्या चिन्तानिश्चलया क्षणम् ।
क्षणं प्रमोदालसया दृशास्यास्यमभूष्यत ।।

These stanzas, which are Udbhaṭa's own, speak of Śiva's love for Pārvatī. They first state that, as Śiva pondered over all her surpassing beauty, love for her planted itself firmly in his heart ; and then they refer to certain striking manifestations of it, such as a bristling of the hairs on the body, perspiration and the like. Here it is obvious that Udbhaṭa describes not the emotion of love but only its causes, consequences and accessories ; and since, by hypothesis, the Rasavadalaṁkāra is *vācya*, it is these that we must take as standing for the emotion in his view. But they cannot do so, unless a materialistic view (which was repugnant to old Indian thinkers generally) is held of emotion, and it is identified with its objective accompaniments. So we must conclude that the emotion, in its essence, here remains uncommunicated.

(2) If, to avoid this difficulty, we suppose the Rasavadalaṁkāra to be not *vācya* but *arthāpatti-gamya*, that is, deduced in one way or another from the *vibhāvas* and the like, an idea of the emotion in question will certainly be conveyed ; but it will be *conceptual*, and cannot therefore represent *rasa* which always means a *felt* emotion. For inference, as is well known, gives rise to conclusions of a generalised or abstract character, while poetry is expected to speak to us in concrete terms. The consequence is that the emotion portrayed comes to be known as only of a certain *type*, instead of as a fully particularised *instance* of it. In the hunting scene at the beginning of the *Śākuntalam*, for example, Kālidāsa does not tell us merely that the deer fled in fear, but depicts the precise manner in which the fear manifested itself then and there. He makes it known to us, of course, that the animal was frightened, but he does so essentially through concrete forms.

Hence we may conclude that, in neither case, can *rasa* be classed under *alaṁkāra*. If the Rasavadalaṁkāra is held to be *vācya*, it will not yield the intended experience but only present its objective accompaniments ; if, on the other hand, it is taken to be *arthāpatti-gamya*, the experience to which it leads will be very far from what is meant by *rasa*.

We may now draw an important corollary from the above. But, before we can do so, we should make a passing reference to a point which does not strictly fall within the scope of this paper. It is that some Alaṁkārikas, like Vāmana, regard *rasa* not as an *alaṁkāra*, but as a *guṇa*[9] of poetry. Since, however, *guṇas* too, like *alaṁkāras*, are conceived as attributive to poetry, that view also may be shown to be untenable on the reasoning adopted above.

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[9] *Kāvyālaṁkāra-sūtra*, III. ii. 14.

When we take this fact along with another, viz. that *guṇas* and *alaṁkāras* are the only positive attributes of poetry, we may conclude that *rasa* should be an *alaṁkārya* (or *guṇin*) and not an *alaṁkāra* [10]. The only point to be granted for this conclusion to be necessary is that *rasa* is an element of poetic value—a point which is not disputed by any Alaṁkārikas, old or new. In other words, it stands for the 'soul' (*ātman*) or essence of poetry—not for what embellishes, but for what is embellished. That is, indeed, the view on the basis of which the later (*navīna*) school criticised the above conception of the Rasavadalaṁkāra; and, in taking their stand on it, they judged aright the place of *rasa* in poetry.

But misconceiving the status of *rasa* in poetry was not the only fault of the older (*prācīna*) school. They also failed to explain how *rasa* experience comes to be evoked at all. For, in trying to explain it, they landed themselves, as we have seen, in a dilemma, viz. that either it remains unevoked in its essence or only an idea of the corresponding emotion is conveyed in purely conceptual terms. The later school has successfully avoided this dilemma by enunciating what is known as *vyañjanā-vyāpāra*, whose importance in elucidating the nature of poetry cannot be exaggerated. It means 'a process of suggestion', as it is commonly interpreted ; but it also signifies more—that the reader should ideally re-produce in himself, with the aid of the suggestive elements and with that of his own feeling equipment, a mode of experience similar to the one, under the spell of which the poet has expressed himself in the form of the poem in question [11]. These suggestive elements are the *vibhāvas* and the like which he has portrayed ; but, being only its outward accompaniments, they have to be imaginatively synthesised by the reader before they can give rise to the integral aesthetic experience (*akhaṇḍa-carvana*) for which the term *rasa* stands.[12] According to this explanation, then, emotions are not *communicated* at all by the poet ; he only suggests them and thereby helps their *waking to life* in the mind of a competent person, when they will necessarily be inwardly experienced by him. Here the later school has, unlike the earlier, rightly taken into account the important psychological fact that no emotions, other than one's own, can be directly experienced. But, when we speak of an emotion as 'waking up' in the mind of the reader, it should not be regarded as a revival of his *private* experience : that would, by no means, constitute *rasa*. For, though the process may eventually go back to impressions latent in his mind (*vāsanā*), the emotional experience itself, in virtue of the idealised character[13] of the *vibhāvas* and the like or, to state the same otherwise, owing to the imaginative level at which the waking takes place, becomes impersonal (*sādhāraṇī-kṛta*) [4] and quite unique (*alaukika*).[15] This is the solution by the later school of the riddle of *rasa* experience.

II

The logical consequence of such a view is to exclude the Rasavadalaṁkāra from the sphere of Poetics altogether, for it is a self-discrepant conception representing an *alaṁkārya* as an *alaṁkāra*. And that is what the later school has, in effect, done. But Indian thinkers do not ordinarily discard an old concept, even when they come to see that it is not strictly legitimate, if they can profitably utilise it in any other way. Now an *alaṁkāra*, by its very nature, forms a subsidiary category. It is what contributes to, or enhances, the beauty of something else. And it so happens that, even though *rasa* is intrinsically primal in character, it is sometimes found to subserve other suggested poetic elements—another *rasādi* or *vastumātra*, (more correctly, only *rasādi*) ;[16] and then it may be *secondarily* described as an *alaṁkāra*. It is thus, not in its original sense that the name 'Rasavadalaṁkāra' survives in the later view, but only in an *upacarita* or figurative sense :

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[10] *Dhvanyāloka* (com.), p. 78 : *Alaṁkārya-vyatiriktaśca alaṁkāraḥ abhyupagantavyaḥ, loke tathā siddhatvāt.* This work will hereafter be referred to as DA.

[11] Cf. *Nāyakasya kaveḥ śrotuḥ samānonubhavaḥ* : DA. p. 29. (com.)

[12] *Na hi vibhāvānubhāva-vyabhicāriṇa eva rasāḥ* : DA. p. 183.

[13] The very words *vibhāva, anubhāva* etc. imply idealisation ; and they are not mere *kāraṇa, kārya* etc. as the older writers persist in describing them. See e.g. com. on Udbhaṭa's work iv. 2, and cf. *Kāvya-prakāśa*, iv. 27-8.

[14] *Deśa-kāla-pramātṛ-bhedāniyantrito rasaḥ* : *Abhinava-bhāratī*. p. 292.

[15] Cf. DA. pp. 56-7 (com.).

प्रधानेऽन्यत्र वाक्यार्थे यत्राङ्गं तु रसादयः ।
काव्ये तस्मिन्नलंकारो रसादिरिति मे मतिः ।।[17]

This is well illustrated in the following stanza where *karuṇa-rasa* serves to enhance the glory of a conquering prince which forms the chief point of the poem :

किं हास्येन न मे प्रयास्यसि पुनः प्राप्तश्चिराद्दर्शनं
केयं निष्करुण प्रवासरुचिता केनासि दूरीकृतः ।
स्वप्नान्तेष्विति ते वदन् प्रियतमव्यासक्तकण्ठग्रहः
बुद्ध्वा रोदिति रिक्तबाहुवलयस्तारं रिपुस्त्रीजनः ।।

It should be added that this fact that a *rasa* may subserve another suggested element of poetry was not a new discovery by Ānandavardhana or by any other later thinker. For Udbhaṭa (if not some other early writers also) admits what he calls *udāttālaṁkāra*, one of whose two varieties is based upon a recognition of that very fact. The *rasa* element is present in it ; and yet it is distinguished by him from the Rasavadalaṁkāra, because that element is not of first importance there. The following is his illustration of it :

तस्यादिक्रोडपीनांसनिघर्षेऽपि पुनः पुनः ।
निष्कम्पस्य स्थितवतो हिमाद्रेर्भवती सुता ।।

The stanza speaks of the prowess of Viṣṇu as *ādi-varāha*, butting repeatedly against the Himavān, and the mountain successfully resisting it. Here there is a clear portrayal of *vīra-rasa*. But it is not portrayed for its own sake ; rather, it serves to indicate the sublime constancy and steadfastness of the mountain lord.[19] Hence it is an instance of *udāttālaṁkāra*, and not of the Rasavadalaṁkāra. It will be seen that, in this respect, it is exactly similar to the illustrative example of the Rasavadalaṁkāra cited above from Ānandavardhana. In this distinction which Udbhaṭa makes between the Rasavadalaṁkāra and the *udāttālaṁkāra*, we may say, lies implicit an important aspect of the theory of *rasa*, as propounded later, viz. that where the *rasa* element is predominant, we have the variety of *kāvya* designated *dhvani* ; and where it is subordinate, we have the Rasavadalaṁkāra.[20] But he had not the necessary aesthetic outlook for rightly interpreting it, and therefore spoke of them both as *alaṁkāras*.

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[16] See DA. pp. 71 and 74 (com.).

[17] DA. ii. 5.

[18] DA. p. 72.

[19] *Na hyatra mahātma-caritam aṅgitayā sthitam, api tvaṅgatām gatam* (*Vivṛti*).

[20] See DA. ii. 4-5.

5. Epigraphy and Lexicography in India

By Dr. Dines Chandra Sircar, M.A., Ph.D., Ootacamund.

Students of old inscriptions in Prakrit and Sanskrit know that these abound in technical terms and expressions which are not found in the lexicons. Some of the words are no doubt recognised in the lexicons but not exactly in the same senses. None of the compilers of the modern Prakrit, Pali and Sanskrit dictionaries is known to have utilised epigraphic materials. As a result of this, their works can only be regarded as incomplete. In order to draw the attention of scholars to this very important question, we propose in these lines to deal with the lexicographic importance of a West Indian inscription of the sixth century A.D. We are glad to acknowledge that in the preparation of this paper we have received considerable help from Mahāmahopādhyāya P. V. Kane, Dr. V. Raghavan and Dr. G. S. Gai.

The inscription is dated in the Vikrama year 649 (i.e., 592 A.D.) and belongs to a ruler named Vishṇusheṇa (or Vishṇubhaṭa) who resided at the *Vāsaka* of Lohāṭā. He is endowed with the five *mahāśabdas* or feudatory titles beginning with *Mahākārtākṛitika.* The real meaning of the word *Kārtākṛitika* is unknown, but it may have indicated a royal agent (cf. *Select Inscriptions*, p. 360, n. 9) or a judge of a superior court. Vishṇusheṇa is also called *śrī-bāva-pād-ānudhyāta* in which the meaning of *bāva* is uncertain, although it has been explained as signifying an uncle or a relation of the father's generation (*C. I. I.*, III, p. 186n). The list of officials serving Vishṇusheṇa includes *āyuktaka*, *viniyuktaka*, *vailabdhika*, *drāṅgika*. *chāṭa* and *bhaṭa.** In inscriptions an *āyuktaka* is often found to be the ruler of a district or sub-division , but the distinction between an *āyuktaka* and a *viniyuktaka* is unknown. We have elsewhere suggested that the *viniyuktaka* (as also *tadāyuktaka* or *tadviniyuktaka* cf. *Select Inscriptions*, p. 351, n. 1) was the ruler of a small territorial unit employed by the Governor of the district and not by the King. The *Vailabdhika* may have been the custodian of recovered stolen property as the *yukta* of the *Manusaṁhitā*, VIII, 34. The *Rājataraṅgiṇī* (VII, 161-63), however, uses the word *vilabdhi* probably in the sense of an assignment. The *Drāṅgika* may have been the officer in charge of a *draṅga* explained as a town in the lexicons, but used in the sense of a watch-station in the *Rāj. tar.*, VIII, 2010 (cf. Stein's trans., vol. II, p. 291 f). *Chāṭa* and *bhaṭa* are sometimes taken to mean regular and irregular soldiers respectively, although their duty appears to have been something like that of the policemen and watchmen or peons. Instead of *Chāṭa*, some inscriptions use the word *Chhātra* often explained as "an umbrella-bearer" (cf. *Sel. Ins.*, p. 414, n. 5). For the use of the word *Chhātra* in our inscription, vide infra. Vishṇusheṇa's order was addressed not only to the officials but also to the *dhruv-ādhikaraṇa* or the office of the *dhruva* which in

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*For a discussion on the official designations, cf. P.V. Kane, *Hist. Dharm.*, Vol. III, pp. 975-1007. Kane thinks that the *Kārtākṛitika* was somewhat like the present day Legal Remembrancer and invited the king's attention to what was done or left undone.

Gujarati indicates the agent who collects on behalf of the Rājā his share of the produce of lands from the tenants (cf. *C. I. I.*, III, p. 170n).

It is said that Vishṇusheṇa had been approached by the community of merchants with the request of being favoured by his own *āchāra-sthiti-pātra* which they might utilise in protecting and favouring their own people and that the merchants were favoured with the ruler's *sthiti-pātra* used in the protection and settlement of his dominions. This *sthiti-pātra* or *āchāra-sthiti-pātra* is elsewhere also called *anugraha-sthiti-pātra*, *sthiti-vyavasthā* and *sthiti-pātra-vyavasthā* and is actually a list of customary laws which is quoted in the inscription in extenso and is very valuable not only to a lexicographer but also to all students of ancient Indian history*. We quote below the text of the seventy-two customary laws one by one.

1. *Āputrakaṁ na grāhyam. Āputraka* possibly means the property belonging to a person who died without leaving a son. It seems to say that such property should not be confiscated by royal officials disregarding the claim of any legal heir other than the son.

2. *Unmara-bhedo na karaṇīyo rāja-purusheṇa.* This is probably connected with No. 1 above. The royal officials are asked not to break open the *unmara*, the meaning of which is unknown. It may be related to the word *umbara* (Pali *ummāra*, Prakrit *ummara*) and may indicate technically the closed door of a house.

3. *Udbhāvaka-vyavahāro na grāhyaḥ.* The word *vyavahāra* here may be taken in the sense of a law-suit ; but the real meaning of *udbhāvaka* is uncertain. It may refer to a case carelessly put before the court (cf. *udbhāvana*, 'neglect') or to one based on fabrication or false allegation.

4. *Śaṅkayā grahaṇaṁ nāsti.* It apparently says that the royal officials should not go in for the apprehension of persons or for taking up a case against one or for seizing things through mere suspicion (*śaṅkā*) of a crime.

5. *Purush-āparādhe strī na grāhyā.* This means to say that the wife should not be apprehended for her husband's guilt.

6. *Kshem-āgni-samutthāne chhalo na grāhyaḥ* or *A-kshem°*. The word *chhala*, which ordinarily means 'a pretext', is used in the Smṛiti literature in the sense of a careless declaration while *bhūta* means a solemn statement of truth (cf. *Yājñavalkyasmṛiti*, N. S. Press, p. 130). The meaning is that no careless declaration of a case was acceptable when the question was that of an attempt at burning a house. Cf. Nos. 7 and 9 below. But the ordinary meaning is also applicable in all these cases ; cf. No. 31 below.

7. *Svayaṁ hrasite karṇe chhalo na grāhyaḥ.* No careless accusation was acceptable from a man in regard to the cutting of a bit from his own ears.

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* The Lakshmeswar Kannaḍa inscription of *Yuvarāja* Vikramāditya II of about 725 A.D. quotes an *āchāra-vyvasthā* (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 190-91). But this damaged record has not been of any help in the elucidation of the inscription under discussion.

8. *Arthi-pratyarthinā vinā vyavahāro na grāhyaḥ.* A law suit could be taken up for disposal only when the complainant and the defendant were both present and never in the absence of any one of the parties.

9. *Āpaṇe āsanasthasya chhalo na grāhyaḥ.* No careless statement of accusation was acceptable from a person who had been at the time of occurrence busy in selling things in a shop or market.

10. *Go-śakaṭaṁ na grāhyam.* This seems to be related to No. 11 below.

11. *Sāmant-āmātya-dūtānām = anyeshāṁ ch = ābhyupāgame śayanīy-āsana-siddhānnaṁ na dāpayet.* When a subordinate chief, an officer or an envoy of the king came to a village, the inhabitants thereof could not be compelled to supply beds or couches, seats and boiled rice. Such things however are known to have been usually supplied by the villagers and the kings are found to have exempted gift villages from these obligations. Cf. such *parihāras* or exemptions as *a-kūra-chollaka-vināśi-khaṭvā-saṁvāsa* and *a-paraṁparā-balīvarda-grahaṇa* explained in the *Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, p. 186 ff. It may be pointed out that inscriptions speak of supplying bullocks to the touring officials by the inhabitants of different villages in succession, but not of carts. Cf. No. 10 above.

12. *Sarva-śreṇīnām=ek-āpaṇako na deyaḥ.* Members of different guilds should not be allowed to flock to the same market. The idea seems to be that different guilds should occupy different markets or at least different quarters of the same market.

13. *Sarva-śreṇībhiḥ khovā-dānaṁ na dātavyam.* All the guilds should not be compelled to pay *khovā*, the meaning of which is unknown. It may be the same thing as the *aṭṭapati-bhāga* or 'the share of the lord of the market' mentioned as a tax in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, V, 164.

14. *Rājakule=dhikaraṇasya cha rāj-ārghikā deyā ; anyeshām=adeyā.* Periodical offerings to be made to the king should be brought to the palace or to the particular office engaged in collecting them but not to anybody else. *Rāj-ārghikā* may be the same as *rāja-pradeya* of the *Manusaṁhitā* ; cf. *Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, p. 187. The word also occurs in No. 45 below.

15. *Vārikasya haste nyāsako na sthāpanīyaḥ.* This is probably related to No. 14 above. The offerings meant for the King were not to be deposited with the *vārika*. The word *vārika* apparently indicates a royal officer. It may be the Gujarati *vāredār* or tax-gatherer. The *Bṛihaspatismṛiti* (G. O. S. ed., p. 159) mentions *vārika* along with the *chāturvaidya*, *vaṇik*, *sarvagrāmīṇa*, *mahattara*, etc., and the *Rāj. tar.*, VI, 345, in the designation *kāṭaka-vārika* ; but the meaning is not clear.

16. *Para-vishayāt=kāraṇ-ābhyāgato vāṇijakaḥ para-reshe na grāhyaḥ.* The word *resha* is unknown and may be a mistake for *vishaya*. A merchant belonging to another district or kingdom could not be treated in the eye of law as a local merchant in the area where he happened to be present on account of some reason or other.

17. *Āvedanakena vinā utkṛishṭī na grāhyā.* This seems to be related to No. 16 above ; but the meaning of *utkṛishṭī* is unknown. *Āvedanaka* may indicate 'stating a complaint in court' and *utkṛishṭi* may be the same as Pali *ukkuṭṭhi* (Sanskrit *utkrośa*) meaning wailing. A proper complaint and not mere wailing was acceptable to court.

18. *Vākpārushya-daṇḍapārushyayoḥ sākshitve sārī na grāhyā.* The *sārikā* bird was not allowed as a witness in cases of defamation and assault.

19. *Dheṅku-kaḍḍhaka-nīla-ḍumphakāś=cha vishṭiṁ na kārayitavyāḥ.* The *ḍumphaka* of a *nīla-kuṭī* liable to pay a certain tax is also referred to in No. 48 below ; but who are actually exempted from forced labour in the present case cannot be determined. The words *ḍheṅku*, *kaḍḍhaka* and *ḍvmphaka* are unknown.

20. *Prapāpūva(ra) ka-gopālā rāja-graheṇa na grāhyaḥ.* *Prapāpūraka* was a person entrusted with *prapā-pūraṇa*, 'filling cisterns with water in a place for watering cattle'. Such persons as well as the milkmen were not to be apprehended or recruited for free labour on the king's behalf. Cf. *Bṛihaspatismṛiti*, p. 26.

21. *Gṛih-āpaṇa-sthitānāṁ mudrā-patraka-dūtakaiḥ sāhasavarjam=āhvānaṁ na karaṇīyam.* Persons engaged in work at home or at the shop could be summoned to the court by means of a seal-ring or a letter or by a messenger only if they were involved in a criminal case. Cf. *Bṛihaspati-smṛiti*, p. 24; see also Kane, *Kātyāyana-sāroddhāra*, verse 88.

22. *Pareṇ=ārth-ābhiyuktānāṁvāda-pratisamāsane yajña-satra-vivāhādishu āhvānaṁ na kārayet.* Persons engaged in such works as the worship of a deity, a sacrifice or a marriage ceremony could not be summoned to the court to refute the charges brought against them. *Artha* may refer to an *artha-mūla* or civil (and not *hiṁsā-mūla* or criminal) suit. Vide *Kātyāyana-sāroddhāra*, verse 108. Or there may be reference here to two different sets of persons who should not be summoned : (1) one engaged in *yajña*, etc. (cf. *Bṛihaspati-smṛiti*, p. 22) ; and (2) one already involved in another case (cf. *Yājñavalkyasmṛiti*, p. 125).

23. *Riṇ-ādān-ābhilekhita-vyavahāre a-kāshṭha-loha-baddhena kṛita-pratibhuvena (?) guptir=upāsyā.* In connection with a written complaint about the realisation of borrowed money, the debtor, when he was not *a-kāshṭha-loha-baddha* (not under wooden or metal hand-cuff) because of his being *kṛita-pratibhū* (one for whom security was furnished by somebody), could enjoy the protection of the court. It seems to say that in the case of a debtor for whom security was furnished neither hand-cuffs nor guards at court were necessary. When no *pratibhū* was furnished, the court had to arrange for the person's watch and the cost of it had to be borne by the parties. Cf. *Yājñavalkyasmṛiti*, p. 126.

24. *Varshāsu sva-vishayāt bīj-ārtham=āgataka-karshakāḥ svāminā na grāhyāḥ.* Cf. *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra*, III, 11 ; *Bṛihaspatismṛiti*, pp. 22, 26. See also *Kātyāyana-sāroddhāra*, verse 109. Cultivators coming out of their places for sowing seeds during the rainy season were not to be apprehended or engaged by the King or landlord in free labour.

25. *Āshāḍha-māsi paushe cha drashṭavyaṁ māna-pautavam ; ādāne rūpakaḥ sa-pādaḥ saha dhārmikeṇa.* For *pautava* and *pautav-āpachāra* (fraud in regard to measures), see *Arthaśāstra*, IV, 2 (cf. pp. 103-105 of the Mysore ed.). The *māna-pautava* which had to be examined in the months of Ashāḍha and Pausha seems to have been a store-house where grains were measured and stored. *Ādāna* no doubt refers to the collection of tax and *dhārmika* seems to point to an extraordinary case somehow associated with religious merit. This is suggested by frequent use of these two terms in the latter part of the document. Possibly there were two kinds of store-houses, one working on a small fee and the other working free of charges ; but there was no reduction of tax for the latter.

26. *A-saṁvādya vyavaharataḥ śulk-ādikaṁ cha dhāny-ādi praveśayato nishkāśavato vā śulkam=ashṭa-guṇaṁ dāpyaḥ.* It seems to be related to No. 25 above. If a store-house collected fees and stored and disposed of grains without informing the royal officials, it had to pay eight times the usual tax, i.e., ten silver coins. This may also refer to the bringing and taking out of goods without check up with officials on matters of *śulka*, etc., as per the rules laid down. Cf. *Arthaśāstra*, II, 23 (Mysore, 2nd ed., p. 112).

27. *Peṭavika-vārikeṇa pañch-rātrake pañch-rātrake kartavyam=arggha-nivedanam ; anivedayato vinaye rūpakāḥ shaḍ=dhārmike pādaḥ.* The *peṭavika-vārika* appears to be a particular class of *vārika* or official that was responsible for the delivery of the *rāj-ārghikā* received from the subjects. The punishment for non-delivery was the fine of six silver coins ; but if there was any reasonable excuse, the fine was only one-fourth silver coin. *Vinaya* means 'fine' (cf. *Nārada* quoted in *Yājñavalkya-smṛiti*, p. 126). This may possibly also refer to the rule that every five days the official should have fixed the prices (*argha*) of commodities, and informed the prices so fixed to the higher authorities. Cf. *Manusmṛiti*, VIII, 402 ; also *Yājñavalkyasmṛiti*, p. 270.

28. *Uttarakulika-vārikaiḥ māna-bhāṇḍa-meya-gate bahir=na gantavyam.* *Uttarakulika*, like *peṭavika*, possibly meant another class of *vārika* or official that appears to have been associated with the law-court. In cases of disputes in regard to the measurement, the measuring pot or the thing measured, such officers were possibly not allowed to go out of the court to be influenced by one party or the other.

29. *Uttarakulika-vārikāṇām=eva karaṇa-sannidhau chhātreṇa trir=āghushitānāṁ nirupasthānād=vinaye rūpaka-dvayaṁ sa-pādaṁ saha dhārmikeṇa.* *Karaṇa* apparently means *adhikaraṇa*, 'law-court', and *chhātra* seems to indicate a peon or a constable. *Karaṇa* as a contraction of *adhikaraṇa* is found in one of the Midnapur grants of Śaśāṅka, while the word *chhātra* is used in the above sense in some inscriptions (cf. *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, p. 414 and note 5). It seems that there was no excuse for the absence of the *vārikas* of the *uttarakulika* class when thrice summoned to court by a court peon. The fine for the offence was two and one-fourth silver coins even if there was any good reason for absence.

30. *Vyavahār-ābhilekhitaka-karaṇa-sevakasy=ā-madhyāhnād=ūrdhvaṁ nirupasthitasya vinayo rūpakāḥ shaṭ=sa-pādās=saha dhārmikeṇa.* Cf. *adhikaraṇa lekhaka* or official recorder in the *Rāj-tar.*, VI, 38. If the clerks who had to write down the statements of cases in the law-court were absent from the court after mid-day, they were liable to a fine of six and one-fourth silver coins.

31. *Ā-madhyāhnād=ūrdhvam=uttarakulika-vārikāṇāṁ chhalo n=āsti.* No pretext of the *uttarakulika-vārikas*, absent from the court after mid-day, was to be accepted.

32. *Arggha-vañchane rūpaka-trayaṁ sa-pādaṁ saha dhārmikeṇa.* This seems to refer to the *peṭavika-vārikas* (No. 27 above). In cases of fraud in regard to the delivery of *rāj-ārghikā*, the officers concerned were liable to a fine of three and one-fourth silver coins and the fine could not be reduced even when there was a reasonable excuse. Here *argha-vañchana* may also refer to the flouting of the prices fixed by the authorities.

33. *Mudr-āpachāre vinaye rūpakāḥ shaṭ=sa-pādāḥ saha dhārmikeṇa. Mudr-āpachāra* is using counterfeit coins; cf. *Yājñavalkyasmṛiti*, p. 268 (verse 240 and quotation from Kātyāyana). The fine for this crime was six and one-fourth silver coins and no excuse for reduction of the fine was allowed.

34. *Sthāvara-tya* (*vya*) *vahāre sāmantaiḥ avasitasya vinayo rūpaka-śatam=ashṭottaram 108.* This seems to say that a *Sāmanta* or subordinate ruler (cf. No. 11 above) was liable to a fine of 108 silver coins if he disposed of a case in regard to landed property. The *sāmantas* may have also been men from neighbouring villages who were to settle boundary disputes (*Yājñavalkyasmṛiti*, II, 152) and the meaning may be that the defeated party in a boundary dispute had to pay a fine of 108 silver coins.

35. *Saṁvadane rūpakāḥ chatushpañchāśat.* But the fine was only 54 silver coins if information had duly been given to the king about the case. In case the second interpretation of No. 34 is preferred, this may refer to the party that itself invited arbitration in a boundary dispute but was defeated.

36. *Jayike bhāshāphālāvane chā* (*cha*) *rūpaka-trayaṁ sa-pādaṁ.*

37. *Ullaṁbane karṇa-troṭane cha vinayo rūpakāḥ saptaviṁśat.* The fine for *ullambana* (leaping over one, or hanging as in the *Arthaśāstra*, IV, 8) or for cutting one's ear was 27 silver coins; cf. No. 7 above.

38. *Vākpārushya-daṇḍapārushyayoḥ vinaye rūpakāḥ shaṭ=sa-pādāḥ.* The fine for the offence of defamation and assault was six and one-fourth silver coins.

39. *Kshata-darśane rūpakāḥ ashṭa-chatvāriṁśat.* In cases of *daṇḍapārushya* involving infliction of wounds, the fine was 48 silver coins.

40. *Gavāṁ tauṇḍike viṁśopakāḥ pañcha.* Five *viṁśopakas* were equal to one-fourth of a silver coin, a *viṁśopaka* being 1/20 of the standard silver money. The meaning of *tauṇḍika* is 'biting of crops with the mouth'; cf. *Yājñavalkyasmṛiti*, II, 159. The offence involving *tauṇḍika* of cows caused a fine of five *viṁśopakas*.

41. *Mahishyās=tad-dviguṇam.* But the fine for the offence involving *tauṇḍika* of a she-buffalo was ten *viṁśopakas*, i.e., one-half silver coin; cf. *Yājñavalkyasmṛiti*, loc. cit.

42. *Madya-bhājanasy=āvalokye rūpakāḥ pañcha. Āvalokya* seems to be the same as *avaloka*. If one was seen with a vessel full of wine, his fine was five silver coins.

43. *Prathama-bhājane dhārmike adhikaraṇasya rūpaka-dvayaṁ sārdhaṁ rū°* 2½. But when it was the first offence and no bad motive could be substantiated, the fine to be paid to the court was only 2½ silver coins.

44. *Anāpṛi* (?) *shṭvā sandhayato dvitīye=hani tad-dviguṇaṁ dāpyaḥ*. The first two words appear to refer to the *adhikaraṇa*. It seems to say that if a man, let off for the first offence with light punishment, was caught with a vessel full of wine for the second time, his fine was double the amount prescribed in No. 43.

45. *Surā-karaṇasy=āvalokye rūpaka-trayaṁ* ; *dhārmike rūpakaḥ sa-pādaḥ* ; *rāj-ārghikayā madya-chāturtha-dvayaṁ* 2. If one was caught while distilling liquor, his fine was three silver coins. But the fine was 1¼ silver coins if no bad motive could be substantiated, although two *chāthurthas* (one *chāthurtha* being 1/4 of the standard measure of a liquid substance ; cf. Nos. 47 and 70 below) of wine had to be paid as *rāj-ārghikā* (cf. No. 14 above).

46. *Kāṁsya-dosy-ayudhānām=āshāḍhī paurṇamāsī bharolaka nirodhena grahaṇaka-pravishṭaṁ bhavati* ; *grahaṇakeshu daṇḍako n=ānusaraṇīyaḥ*.

47. *Rājakīya-gañje kalvapāla-vārikeṇa chāturtha-śoṭī-hastena meyaṁ muktvā n=ānyat=kiṁchit=karaṇīyam. Gañja* (treasury or a fund in the *Rāj. tar.*, IV, 589 ; VII, 125-26) was a store-house and the *vārika* or officer of the *kalvapāla* (the same as *kalyapāla* or *kalyāpāla*, i.e., spirit-distiller, of the lexicons and the *Rāj. tar.*, IV, 677 and *Kalpāla* of Viśvarūpa's commentary on the *Yājñavalkyasmṛiti*, Vyavahāra, verse 50) class was, the officer in charge of the store-house for wine. Śoṭī seems to mean a measuring pot used in measuring liquids like wine. While measuring wine in *chāturthas* or quarter-measures at the royal store-house with the measuring pot in hand, the officer was possibly not allowed to divert his attention to some other work. For *chāturtha*, see No. 45 above and No. 70 below.

48. *Nīla-kuṭy-ādānaṁ ḍuṁphakena deyaṁ rūpaka-trayaṁ rū°* 3. *Nīla-kuṭī* may mean an indigo factory and *ḍuṁphaka* its owner or supervisor. Cf. No. 19 above. The *ḍumphaka* had to pay the tax of three silver coins for a *nīla-kuṭī*.

49. *Ikshu-vāṭ-ādānaṁ rūpakāḥ dvātriṁśat rū°* 32 ; *dhārmike rūpakadvayaṁ sa-pādam*. The tax for a sugar-cane plantation was 32 silver coins ; but it was only 2 1/4 silver coins if the field belonged to a religious establishment.

50. *Allavāṭasy=āto=rdh-ādānam*. The tax for an *alla-vāṭa* was half the amount prescribed in No. 49. The word *alla* in Pali means 'moist' and *alla-vāṭa* may probably indicate 'low land.'

51. *Yantra-kuṭy-ādānaṁ rūpaka-trayaṁ rū°* 3 ; *dhārmike rūpakaḥ sa-pādaḥ*. *Yantra-kuṭī* may indicate an oil-mill or manufactory for which the tax to be paid was three silver coins, although the tax was only a 1¼ silver coins if the *Yantra-kuṭī's* productions were meant for a religious cause.

52. *Varsha-paryushitā vaṇijaḥ prāveśyaṁ śulk-ātiyātrikaṁ na dāpanīyāḥ, nairgamikaṁ deyaṁ.* Merchants staying abroad for a year were not to pay any entrance fee while returning to their native places ; but they had to pay the exit tax when they went out again. *Atiyātrika* is no doubt connected with *atiyātrā* used in the *Divyāvadāna* (p. 92, 1. 27) in the sense of 'fare for crossing the boundary.'

53. *Bhāṇḍa-bhṛita-vahitrasya śulk-ātiyātrike rūpakāḥ dvādaśa rū°* 12 ; *dhārmike rūpakaḥ sa-pādaḥ rū°* 1 1/4. For a boat full of vessels probably of metal the crossing fare was 12 silver coins ; but if the vessels were meant for any religious purpose, the tax was only 1 1/4 silver coins. On the rates for ferry crossing, see *Manusmṛiti*, VIII, 403 ff ; *Yājñavalkyasmṛiti*, p. 274 and commentary.

54. *Mahish-oshṭra-bharakasya rūpakāḥ pañcha sa-pādāḥ saha dhārmikeṇa.* For a boat full of buffaloes and camels, the tax was 5 1/4 silver coins and there was no reduction even if they were meant for some religious cause. *°Bharaka* seems to mean the same thing as *°bhṛita-vahitra.*

55. *Balīvard-ādānaṁ rūpaka-dvayaṁ sārdhaṁ rū°* 2½ ; *dhārmike pādaḥ* 1/4. The tax for a boat full of bulls was 2½ silver coins ; but, if they were meant for a religious cause, the tax was only 1/4 silver coin. This seems to be connected with Nos. 53-54 above and 56 below.

56. *Gardabha-bharak-ādāne rūpakaḥ sa-pādaḥ rū°* 1 1/4 *saha dhārmikeṇa.* The tax for a boat full of asses was 1 1/4 silver coins and there was no reduction even if they were meant for a religious cause.

57. *Ato=rdhena poṭṭalikā-saṁkāchitak-ādānam* ; *avalambakasya viṁśopakāḥ pañcha.* The tax for bundles (*poṭṭalikā*) suspended from loops probably in shops was half of 1 1/4 silver coins and for the hanger of such loops the tax was five *viṁśopakas* or 1/4 silver coin. The word *saṁkāchitaka* is no doubt related to *kāchita* used as an adjective ; but in No. 68 below it has been used as a noun possibly in the sense of a loop. The same may also be the meaning in the present case.

58. *Pala-śatasya viṁśopaka-dvayaṁ saha dhārmikeṇa.* A bundle weighing 100 *palas* was taxed at two *viṁśopakas* and there was no reduction of the tax even if it was meant for a religious cause.

59. *Yath-opari-likhita-bhāṇḍ-ādānāt dhānyasy=ārdh-ādānam.* This seems to be related to No. 53 above. A boat full of paddy was taxed at half the amount prescribed for a boat full of vessels.

60. *Ārdraka-lakaṭāyāḥ śulk-ātiyātrike rūpakaḥ sa-pādaḥ saha dhārmikeṇa ru°* 1 1/4. The crossing fare for a boat full of ginger and *lakaṭā* was 1 1/4 silver coins and there was no reduction even if the things were meant for a religious purpose. *Lakaṭā* may be the name of a kind of spices or may be the same as modern *lakḍī* or fuel.

61. *Vaṁśa-bhṛita-vahitrasya rūpakāḥ shaṭ sa-pādāḥ saha dhārmikeṇa.* The tax for a boat full of bamboos was 1 1/4 silver coins and there was no reduction even if the material was meant for a religious purpose.

62. *Ā(ska)ndha-vāhyaṁ dhānyaṁ śulkaṁ na pradāpayet.* There was no tax for paddy to be carried by a person on his shoulder. Cf. *Nāradasmṛiti*, ed. Jolly, p. 134.

63. *Kaṇikkā-kustumbarī-rājikā-prabhṛitīnāṁ varṇikā-grahaṇe setikā grāhyā.* *Kaṇikkā* is the Prakrit form of *kaṇikā* meaning cummin seed. *Rājikā* is black mustard, while *kustumbari* is the coriander seed. *Varṇikā* is the same as Prakrit *vanniā* meaning 'sample', while *setikā* is the same as Prakrit *seïā* or *seïgā* indicating a measure equal to two *prasṛitis*. The word *prasṛiti* means the palm of the hand stretched out and hollowed and also a handful of things regarded as equivalent to two *palas* in weight. It seems therefore that only two handfuls of cummin seed, black mustard and coriander seed could be taken as sample by royal officials.

64. *Vivāha-yajñ-otsava-sīmantonnayaneshu cha śulkaṁ na pradāpayet.* Ceremonies such as marriage were not to be taxed. Cf. receipts of the office styled *gṛihakṛitya* in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, V, 157, 176 ; VII, 42.

65. *Vara-yātrāyāṁ śulk-ādi(ti)yātrike rūpakāḥ dvādaśa ; paṭṭaka-dhārmike rūpakaḥ sa-pādaḥ rū°* 1 1/4. If the procession of a bridegroom had to cross the boundary of the kingdom or district to reach the house of the bride, it had to pay the crossing fare of 12 silver coins ; but, if it was legalised by means of a *paṭṭaka* or pass-port, the fare was only 1 1/4 silver coins.

66. *Madya-vahanakasy-ādāne rūpakāḥ pañcha rū°* 5 ; *dhārmike rūpakaḥ sa-pādaḥ rū°* 1 1/4. If a vehicle or boat full of wine had to cross the border, it was taxed at five silver coins, although the tax was reduced to 1 1/4 silver coins if the wine was meant for a religious purpose. This may be related to No. 65 above.

67. *Khallarakasya rūpakaḥ sa-pādaḥ saha dhārmikeṇa rū°* 1 1/4. The tax for a *khallaraka*, the meaning of which is uncertain, was only 1 1/4 silver coins even if it was required for a religious purpose. This seems also to be related No. 65 above.

68. *Kelāyāḥ saṁkāchitakasya cha ato=rdh-ādānam.* Cf. No. 57 above. For a loop holding *kelā*, the tax was half of 1 1/4 silver coins. The meaning of *kelā* is uncertain, although *kelā* in Hindi stands for Sanskrit *kadalī*. This is possibly related to No. 65 above.

69. *Pāda-ghaṭasya viṁśopakāḥ pañcha saha dhārmikeṇa.* The tax for a *pāda-ghaṭa* was five *viṁśopakas*, i.e., 1/4 silver coin and it was not reduced even when the thing was meant for a religious cause. The meaning of *pāda-ghaṭa* is uncertain ; but possibly it indicated a jar holding water to be used in washing feet.

70. *Kaṭu-madye śīdhu-chāturtha-trayaṁ* 3. Three *chāturthas* or quarter-measures (cf. Nos. 45 and 47 above) of the liquor called *śīdhu* were regarded as the tax for very strong liquors. This may also be related to No. 65 above.

71. *Chhimpaka-kolika-padakārāṇāṁ yath-ānurūpa-karmaṇaḥ janapada-mūlyād=rājakule=rdh-ādānam.* The *chhimpakas*, *kolikas* and *padakāras*, who appear to have been followers of particular professions, possibly had to pay as tax half the money that would be the price of the things produced by them according to the standard of the land. *Kolika* may be the same as Sanskrit *kaulika* or a weaver and *padakāra* may possibly be a shoemaker. The meaning of *chhimpaka* is uncertain. May it be connected with Marathi *śimpi* and Kannaḍa *chippiga* or *simpiga* (from Sanskrit *śilpin*) meaning 'a tailor'?

72. *Lohakāra-rathakāra-nāpita-kumbhakāra-prabhṛitīnāṁ vārikeṇa vishṭiḥ karaṇīyā.* The blacksmiths, carpenters, barbers, potters and others could be recruited for forced labour under the supervision of the *vārikas* or officers.

King Vishṇusheṇa (Vishṇubhaṭa) further says that he also approved of other *āchāras* that were handed down from ancient times, besides those mentioned above. He ends with a request that his *anugraha-sthiti-pātra* should be approved by the future rulers of the country.

In conclusion, I request all scholars to take note of the interesting words and senses that are noticed in the present record but are not recognised in the Sanskrit *koshas* and to try to interpret the passages which I have failed to explain as well as to improve upon the interpretations offered in this paper.

6. The Dānasāgara and the Dānaratnākara

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The present author has discussed the indebtedness of the Kṛtyaratnākara,[1] a published work of Caṇḍeśvara, to the Dānasāgara of Ballāla Sena and also discovered the existence of Vratasāgara, a hitherto-unknown fifth work of Ballāla Sena, from two quotations in the latter (i.e. the Dānasāgara) in his paper, viz. 'Caṇḍeśvara's indebtedness to Ballāla Sena.'[2] The present study is a continuation of the above paper.

As only one-fifth portion of the Dānasāgara has been published[3] and as the Dānaratnākara of Caṇḍeśvara is as yet completely unpublished, so the present study of the indebtedness of the latter work to the former is based upon two Mss.[4] of the former and a Ms[5]. of the latter. It is, however, evident that though the Sanskrit words Sāgara and Ratnākara are synonymous, meaning 'sea', yet the Sanskrit works Dānasāgara and Dānaratnākara are not the same, produced as they were by different authors who flourished in different parts of India and were separated by about two centuries. The former is the production of Ballāla Sena, a Bengal king of the latter half of the twelfth century and the latter is the composition of Caṇḍeśvara Ṭhakkura, a Maithila minister of the first half of the fourteenth century.

Mr. (now MM. Dr.) P. V. Kane has utilised extracts of the Dānasāgara from the India Office catalogue and the Poona MS. of the Dānaratnākara in appropriate places[6] of his History of Dharmaśāstra, Vol. I, which also contains the important fact that 'the work (i.e. the Dānasāgara) is mentioned in the Dānaratnākara of Caṇḍeśvara.[8] The same author has not, however, utilised the Dānasāgara in his elaborate chapter on Dāna (pp. 837-888) in Vol. II[9] of the History of Dharmaśāstra but simply mentioned it as one of the

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[1] Edited by MM. Kamalakṛṣṇa Smṛtitīrtha, *Bibliotheca Indica*, 1925.

[2] Indian Culture, Vol. XI, 1945, pp. 141-145.

[3] Edited by Śyāmācaraṇa Kaviratna, Calcutta, 1914-1919, pp. 1-16, 1-316, upto pañcalāngalakamahadana.

[4] No. 1A. 73 of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal and Nos. 719-720/1704-5 of the India Office, London. The two London MSS. constitute two parts of the Dānasāgara.

[5] No. 114 of 1884-86, Deccan College collection, deposited in the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.

[6] The Dānasāgara extracts have been utilised in the sec. No. 83 on Ballāla Sena pp. 340-341. The third introductory verse viz. "श्रुतोक्तमपि यद्दानं कृत्यरत्नाकरे पुनः। मासादिकृत्यसामस्त्यं गौरवात्तदुदीरितम् ॥ and the last verse viz. श्रीकृत्यदान व्यवहारशुद्धिपूजाविवादिषु तथा गृहस्थे। रत्नाकरा धर्मसु ये निवद्धा कृताः श्रीचण्डीश्वरमन्त्रिणा ते।" of the Dānaratnākara have been quoted on p. 366 in the sec. No. 90 on Caṇḍeśvara. Dr. Kane reads गृहस्थकृत्ये for तथा गृहस्थे in the latter quotation.

[7] Published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, 1930.

[8] Vide pp. 340-341.

[9] Published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, 1941.

'digests specially devoted to the topic of *dāna*' on p. 841 of the same. He has also not used the Dānaratnākara in his above-mentioned chapter on *dāna* but consulted the Poona MS.[10] of the same in an earlier chapter of his History of Dharmaśāstra, Vol. II. (on p. 131 footnote 290) for a quotation from Devala about eight kinds of Brāhmaṇas (of whom each succeeding one is superior to each preceding one), *viz.* mātra, brāhmaṇa, śrotriya, anūcāna, bhruṇa, ṛṣikalpavṛṣi and muni. Dr. Kane has, moreover, utilised in the 1st volume of his History of Dharmaśāstra the second[11] and fourth [12]verses at the end of the Dānaratnākara, not from the Poona MS. of the same but evidently from Mitra's Notices, Vol. VI., p. 135, as none of them is found in the Poona MS. and as he gives the above reference in connexion with the latter verse, though he adds nothing in connexion with the former. The same author is completely silent about Ballāla Sena and the Dānasāgara in his Marathi work 'Dharmaśāstravicāra'[13] but has allotted some four lines to Caṇḍeśvara, including a quotation[14] from the Dānaratnākara on p. 43 of the same. We now enumerate below the subjects dealt with by the Dānasāgara, which is divided into 75 *āvartas*.

Eulogy of Brāhmaṇas, eulogy of the merits arising from gifts, proper objects of gifts, exceptions, the nature of gift, the donor, faith as to the utility of gifts, proper times and places for gifts, things proper to be donated, what cannot be gifted away, bad donations, religious rites and procedure followed in making gifts and in accepting them, the technical terms of the subject of gifts, the sixteen *mahādānas* such as that of *tulāpuruṣa* and other things, ten kinds of gifts called *parvata-dānas*, viz. of heaps of corn, salt, sesame etc., gifts of thirty-nine kinds called *dhenus* such as of ghee, jaggery etc., lesser *dānas* of various kinds (the author himself says in verse 54 at the end of his introductory list of *dānas* that he has described 1375 kinds of gifts), the names of various Purāṇas and their extent.

The Dānaratnākara, which contains 29 *taraṅgas*, deals with the following subjects :—

The procedure followed in making gifts, meaning of *dāna*, what may or may not be gifted, fit objects of charity, the sixteen kinds of gifts called *mahādānas*, gifts of a thousand cows and of heaps of corn etc., the latter constituting the ten *parvata-dānas*, gifts of ten kinds of *dhenus* such as of jaggery, ghee, etc., gifts of cows, oxen, golden effigies of cows, gifts of land, gold, etc. and antelope skins, various gifts, such as those of food, books etc., gifts appropriate to certain months, seasons, *tithis* and *nakṣatras*, founding of hospitals and offering safety to intimidated persons, settling Brāhmaṇas in houses, miscellaneous gifts, dedication of wells and tanks for public use, planting of trees, offering shelter and presiding deities of various articles of gift.

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[10] No. 114 of 1884-86, Deccan College collection. He has consulted fol. 10a of the above MS. but not mentioned the folio reference.

[11] मग्ना म्लेच्छमहार्णवे वसुमती येनोध्दृता लीलया

[12] यस्य दानातिरेकेण लोके निर्जितगौरव:।
कल्पद्रुम: पारिजात: कामधेनु: क्वचित् क्वचित्।।

[13] Published by the Mauj printing Bureau, Bombay, 1936.

[14] The same as that quoted in note 11 above.

It will thus be seen that both Ballāla Sena and Caṇḍeśvara traverse over the same ground in their respective treatises on *dāna* and that unlike Govindānanda,[15] a sixteenth century digest-writer of Bengal, Caṇḍesvara does not dispense with the description of the sixteen *mahādānas* such as the gift of *tulāpuruṣa* and of the ten *parvata-dānas* such as the giving away of heaps of corn, as being impossible for ordinary persons.

Though the Dānaratnākara quotes the Dānasāgara not less than fifteen times, yet I have not attempted in this paper the rather laborious task of identifying all those quotations from the former work by the latter work. I intend to do that in the introduction to my forthcoming edition of the Dānasāgara in the *Bibliotheca Indica*. I, however, conclude this paper of mine after identifying one of those quotations only.

APPENDIX

Identification of a quotation

Dānaratnākara	Dānasāgara
f. 71a of the D. C. MS.	= (a) f. 210 b of the R. A. S. B. MS.
कुन्माष ईषत्स्विन्न: माष: स्वल्पमाष इति सागर: (the word सागर: is an obvious abbreviation of the word दानसागर).	कुन्मास स्वल्पमास इति प्रसिद्ध: (b) f 272a of the India Office Ms. कुन्मासो राजमास इति प्रसिद्ध:

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[15] Vide p. 86 of his Dānakriyākaumudī, edited by MM. Kamalakrṣṇa Smṛtitīrtha (*Bibliotheca Indica*. 1903), which contains the following paragraph :—

तुलापुरुषादि-षोडशमहादानानि धान्याचलादिदशविधाचलदानानि मत्स्यपुराणोक्तानि महाराजेतरासाध्यान्यत्रोपेक्षितानि महादानपद्धतौ द्रष्टव्यानि। अन्यानि च दानानि यथायथमाकरेषूह्यानि। It is rather strange that though Raghunandana, the great Bengali digest-writer of the sixteenth century, who was a generation later than Govindānanda, *did* not write a separate treatise on *dāna* but utilised the Dānasāgara, as is evident from his several quotations from it in his several works, yet his Bengali predecessor, Govindānanda, who actually wrote a digest on *dāna*, viz. the Dānakriyākaumudī and hinted at the existence of earlier treatises on the same topic, as is evident from the above extract, never mentions Ballāla-Sena or the Dānasāgara in his own treatise.

For Raghunandana's indebtedness to the Dānasāgara, vide the present author's paper viz. 'Ballāla Sena's influence upon Bengal Smṛti' to be shortly published in the Gode Commemoration Volume, Poona.

7. A Note on the Literary Style and Spirit of Vajrasūci

By Bhadanta Shanti Bhikshu Shastri, Santiniketan.

VAJRASŪCĪ is a very small text which was first published by Dr. A. Weber in *Abhandlungen der Berliner Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Pp. 205-64 May 1859). Śrī Sujit Kumar Mukherjee of the Cheena-Bhavana, Visva-Bharati has prepared a better edition which will shortly be published in the Annals of the Visva-Bharati, Vol. II.

In this work the Buddhist view of Varṇa-Vyavasthā (Caste System) has been presented on the evidence of Brahmanical scriptures. The author first pays homage to Mañjughoṣa and goes on to affirm that the Vedas, the Smṛtis and such other speeches as are in conformity with Dharma are authoritative, and then basing his contentions on their authority, establishes the following points :

1. Jīva (Soul) is not Brahmin (A-F.) ;
2. No one is a Brahmin by birth (G. K.) ;
3. It is not the body that is Brahmin (L.) ;
4. No one is a Brahmin by the mere possession of knowledge (M.) ;
5. No one can be a Brahmin by merely following the traditional religious rites and rituals (ācāra)—(N.) ;
6. Profession does not make one a Brahmin (O.) ;
7. No one attains to Brahminhood by merely studying the Vedas (P. Q.).

Having established these points the author puts forward his own view *viz.*, that abstinence from sin is what essentially constitutes Brahminhood. In support of this, he cites copious evidence from the Brahmanical scriptures (R. S. T.). He then further endeavours to establish the following points :—

1. The Śūdras are not low-born as such (U. V.) ;
2. The existence of the confused and promiscuous mixing among the Brahmins renders it difficult to apply the term Brahmin to a particular person (W. X.) ;
3. There is evidence of Śūdras becoming Brahmins (Y. Z.) ;
4. It is mere blind faith to believe that the Brahmins are born out of the very mouth of Brahman (A. A-C. C.) ;

5. There is no natural distinction among the four Varṇas (D. D. H. H.) ;

6. Born of the one and the same Brahman there can be no real distinction between man and man (I. L.) ;

7. If Brahmin-men and Brahmin-women are alike born of the self-same mouth of the Brahman then their relationship is logically reduced to that of brothers and sisters which renders marriage among them unlawful ; (J. J.) ;

8. The caste system should be founded not on the accident of birth but on the merit of one's deeds (K. K.).

The author concludes the text by stating that the reader ought to sift from his arguments the rational from the irrational and accept only the former while rejecting the latter. He further states that his purpose in compiling this text was to remove the confusion lurking in the minds of the ignorant Brahmins. The opening verse mentions Aśvaghoṣa as the name of the author and so does the colophon.

There are only three verses in Vajrasūcī which may reasonably be considered as originally his ; the rest is replete with quotations from Brahmanical scriptures. These quotations too are not literal but follow the spirit of the original occasionally. There are intermediate links of arguments joining the various quotations, which may be also his own. No less than a most talented author could possibly prove his excellence within the narrow limits of a work like the Vajrasūcī.

We are familiar with the characteristic style of Aśvaghoṣa from his poetical works. In his favourite figures of speech—*Yamaka* and *Anuprāsa*—the repetition consists either in the *Pada* (word) or in the part of a *pada* (Padāṁśa). It is never a repetition of a complete foot (*Pāda*) or half verse (*ardha*). In the particular figure of speech called *anuprāsa*, also, he tends towards the repetition of the final rather than the initial or the middle ; he is also partial to repeat a symphony in the foot or in the half-verse. But he never achieves this effect by a forced use of words ; he is too much of an artist to do this. Here are a few instances illustrating the typical characteristics of Aśvaghoṣa's style culled from his various writings :

वातायनेभ्यस्तु विनिःसृतानि परस्परायासितकुंडलानि ।
स्त्रीणां विरेजुर्मुखपंकजानि सक्तानि हर्म्येष्विव पंकजानि ॥ १९ ॥

वातायनानामविशालभावादन्योन्यगंडार्पित कुंडलानां ।
मुखानि रेजुः प्रमदोत्तमानां वद्धाः कलापा इव पंकजानां ॥ २१ ॥

—Buddhacarita III

तौ देवदारूत्तमगन्धवन्तं नदीसरःप्रस्रवणौघवन्तं ।
अजग्मतुः कांचनधातुमन्तं देवर्षिमन्तं हिमवन्तमाशु ॥ २ ॥
दरीचरीणामतिसुन्दरीणां मनोहरश्रोणिकुचोदरीणां ।
वृन्दानि रेजुर्दिशि किंनरीणां पुष्पोत्कचानामिव वल्लरीणां ॥ १३ ॥

स्थिते विशिष्टे त्वयि संश्रये श्रये
यथा न यामीह वसन्दिशं दिशं ।
यथा च लब्ध्वा व्यसनक्षयं क्षयं
व्रजामि तन्मे कुरु शंसतः सतः ॥ २६ ॥

—Saundarananda X

ततो मुनिस्तं प्रियमाल्यहारं वसन्तमासेन कृताभिहारं ।
निनाय भग्न प्रमदाविहारं विद्याविहाराभिमतं विहारं ॥ २० ॥

तत्सौम्य लोलं परिगृह्य लोकं मायोपमं चित्रमिवेन्द्रजालं ।
प्रियाभिघानं त्यज मोहजालं छेत्तुं मतिस्ते यदि दुःखजालं ॥ ४२ ॥

—Saundarananda V

सा पद्मरागं वसनं वसाना पद्मानना पद्मदलायताक्षी ।
पद्मा विपद्मा पतितेव लक्ष्मीः शुशोष पद्मस्रगिवातपेन ॥ २६ ॥

—Saundarananda VI

तप्तो जिघांसुर्हृदि तस्य तत्तमस्तमोनुदो नक्तमिवोत्थितं तमः ।
महर्षिचन्द्रो जगतस्तमोनुदस्तमःप्रहीणो निजगाद गौतमः ॥ २८ ॥

Saundarananda X

The underlined portions indicate the special traits of his *Yamaka* and *Anuprāsa*. Now let us read two verses from Vajrasūcī in the light of the above :-

वेदाः प्रमाणं स्मृतयः प्रमाणं धर्मार्थयुक्तं वचनं प्रमाणं ।
यस्य प्रमाणं न भवेत्प्रमाणं कस्तस्य कुर्याद्वचनं प्रमाणं ॥ २ ॥
अस्माभिरुक्तं यदिदं द्विजानां
मोहं निहन्तुं हतबुद्धिकानां ।
गृह्णन्तु सन्तो यदि युक्तमेतन्
मुचन्त्वथायुक्तमिदं यदि स्यात् ॥ २३ ॥

Here the way in which the word *pramāṇa* recurs is significant. When we compare it with the repetition of the words *tamas*, *patra*, *hāra*, *vihāra* and *jāla*, the similarity is at once striking. Again, the kind of repetition as occurs in °*jānām*, °*kānām* is a common feature of all the writings of Aśvaghoṣa.

Aśvaghoṣa is never tired of citing telling illustrations from ancient parables, tales and analogies while propounding his thesis. In Vajrasūcī there are two such instances, when this ancient narrative lore has been drawn upon. In the first, the question is raised, whether to be a Brahmin one is necessarily to be born of a Brahmin mother. The author of Vajrasūcī does not consider this as a pre-requisite of one's being a Brahmin ; and since Acala, Keśa-Piṅgala, Agastya, Kauśika, Kapila, Gautama, Droṇa, Tittiri, Rāma, Ṛṣyaśṛnga, Vyāsa, Kuśika, Viśvāmitra and Vasiṣṭha were all Brahmins without their mothers being Brahmin-women, he drives home his point. While describing the mothers of these eminent sages, the author of Vajrasūcī says :—

"Acala was born of the she-elephant, Keśapiṅgala of the she-owl, Agastya from the Agasti flower, Kauśika of Kuśa, Kapila of Kapilā, Gautama from the clump of reeds. Droṇācārya was born in an earthen pot, Ṛṣi Tittiri of the Tittiri bird. Reṇukā gave birth to Rāma, while a she-deer to the sage Ṛṣya-śṛṅga. A maid who was a Kaivarta by caste, gave birth to Vyāsa, a Śūdra woman to Kuśika, a Caṇḍāla woman to Viśvāmitra, and Urvaśī to Vasiṣṭha. Their mothers were not Brāhmaṇas by caste, but they are regarded as Brāhmaṇas by popular beliefs. 7-10.

In the other instance of the clever use of hoary tales, the author of Vajrasūcī contends that though Kaṭha, Vyāsa, Vasiṣṭha, Ṛṣyaśṛṅga and Nārada were Śūdras by birth, yet they attained to Brahminhood. In the descriptions of the mothers of these rishis he says :—

"The great sage named Kaṭha, who was born from the womb of Araṇī, became Brāhmaṇa by means of austerity. Therefore, the birth is not the cause (of Brahminhood). The great sage named Vyāsa, who was born from the womb of a Kaivarta woman, became Brāhmaṇa by means of austerity. Therefore, birth is not the cause (of Brahminhood). The great sage named Vasiṣṭha who was born from the womb of Urvaśī, became Brāhmaṇa by means of austerity. Therefore, birth is not the cause (of Brahminhood). The great sage Ṛṣyaśṛṅga who was born from the womb of a deer became Brāhmaṇa by means of austerity. Therefore, birth is not the cause (of Brahminhood). The great sage Viśvāmitra who was born from the womb of a Caṇḍāla woman, became Brāhmaṇa by means of austerity. Therefore, birth is not the cause (of Brahminhood). The great sage Nārada who was born from the womb of Tāṇḍūlī (a maid servant who used to husk rice ?) became Brāhmaṇa by means of austerity. Therefore, birth is not the cause (of Brahminhood)" 22-27.

In *Buddhacarita* and *Saundarananda*, we find further extensive reference to the promiscuous relationship existing among the sages, the gods and the *rājarṣis* and the consequent birth of illegitimate issues (Vide *Buddhacarita* 4/72-80, *Saundarananda* 7/25-45). It would be sufficient to read out one or two verses here from them in order to grasp their affinity to Vajrasūcī. Thus, in the episode of Vyāsa's birth it has been said :—

"So too the seer Parāśara, master of the weapon of the curse, associated with Kālī, the daughter of a fish, of whom a son was born, the illustrious Dvaipāyana, who classified the Vedas." (Saundarananda VII, 29).

Similarly, by referring to Vasiṣṭha as Aurvaśeya (Buddhacarita 9/9), a veiled indication of his being the son of Urvaśī has been made. Among other episodes connected with the birth of characters like Vasiṣṭha, Vyāsa, etc., here are some out of such numerous ones :—

"The sage Vasiṣṭha, best of the virtuous, consorted with Akṣamālā, a low-caste woman, and she bore him a son Kapiñjalāda, who lived on earth and water just as the sun sucks up water from the earth.

And Dvaipāyana, who was devoted to religion, dallied with a harlot in Kāśī, who struck him with her foot with its jingling anklet, just as a cloud is struck by a flash of lightning. (Saundarananda VII, 28, 30).

And Bṛhaspati of the great austerities begot Bharadvāja on Mamatā, the daughter of Marut, Mārutī, the wife of Utathya.

And the Moon, the best of sacrificers, begot Budha of the god-like deeds on Bṛhaspati's wife as she was making oblations.

And old Parāśara too, with his passions inflamed, approached Kālī, the daughter of a fish, on the bank of the Yamunā.

The sage Vasiṣṭha through lust begot a son, Kapiñjalāda on a despised low-caste woman Akṣamālā."

Buddhacarita IV, 74-77.

Thus, the style of quoting episodes, etc., from the ancient traditional narratives, familiar to a reader of *Buddhacarita* and *Saundarananda* is also met with in Vajrasūcī.

There is a reference in Vajrasūcī to a *sūtra* from Pāṇini which occurs in the midst of an argument. Here is the passage in question :

"चतुर्षु वर्णेष्वन्ते वचनात्ते (शूद्रा:) नीचा इति। यद्येवमिन्द्रोऽपि नीच: स्यात् श्वयुवमघोनामतद्धिते [पा. ६।४।१३३] इति सूत्रवचनात्। श्वा इति कुक्कुर:। युवा इति पुरुष:। मघवा इति सुरेन्द्र:। तयो: श्वपुरुषयोरिन्द्र एव नीच: स्यात्। न चैतद्दृष्टम्।"

Among the four castes, the Śūdras are referred to last ; they are, therefore, the lowliest. If such is the case, then even Indra must be the lowliest of gods because in the *Sūtra* "श्वयुवमघोनामतद्धिते" [६,४,१३३] his name occurs last. *Śvan*-dog, *Yuvan*- man, *maghavan*- Surendra. Thus, Indra is even lowlier than either a dog or a man. But such is not the fact.

Aśvaghoṣa's love for Grammar is also noticeable in *Saundarananda*. Here are two relevant verses from that source :—

"For that agitation enured to increasing his tendency towards the highest good, just as the root *edh* is said by grammarians to take vṛddhi in its verbal form.

But steadfastness in respect of the past, present and future did not grip his mind in any way because of passion, just as *asti* is said to be used as a particle of all three times. (Saundarananda XII, 9-10)."

Again, we are much impressed by the grammatical talents of Aśvaghoṣa when we find him, in one instance in *Buddhacarita* (11/70), using the root *Av* in nine different senses.

Although Vajrasūcī is a trenchant criticism of Brahmanical Śāstras the spirit of malice is conspicuous by its complete absence from the text. This is equally true of *Buddhacarita* and *Saundarānanda*. In the criticism and exposition of his standpoint, Aśvaghoṣa is not merely unmalicious but his arguments are, whenever possible, shot with a proud sense of humour and a happy wit. Let us quote here two telling illustrations from *Saundarananda* :—

"And he who has set his mind on the abolition of the vices must consider the time and the method, for even Yoga, when practised out of season and by the wrong method, leads to calamity and not to its proper result.

For if a man should milch a cow which has not calved, he would not obtain milk, because he would be milching at the wrong season ; or again, given the right season, he would not obtain milk if through ignorance he were to milch a cow by the horn."

(Saundarananda XVI, 49-50).

There is a similar instance in *Vajrasūcī* too :—

"यदि मुखतो जातो भवति ब्राह्मणो ब्राह्मण्या कुत उत्पत्तिः। मुखादेवेति चेद् हन्त तर्हि भवतां भगिनीप्रसङ्गः स्यात्।" (JJ)

If a Brahmin is born out of the mouth (of the Brahman), wherefrom is his consort the Brahmaṇī born? If from the self-same mouth, well, then Brother! (Association with her) is association with a sister.

In many places the author of *Buddhacarita* asserts that his poetry was not intended to dazzle the reader with the glamours of poetic style or pedantry. In *Saundarananda* it has been affirmed that whatever amorous (Lalita) speech has occurred in the exposition of *mokṣa* under the garb of poetry, should not be accepted as such. In *Vajrasūcī* itself, Aśvaghoṣa claims to have kept in view the clarification of the delusions clouding the minds of the Brahmins ; if his arguments appear reasoned and convincing, they may be accepted and whatever might be found to be contrary may be certainly rejected. In all the three places the unity of the same typical mental attitude can be unmistakably identified.

From a comparison of the spirit, diction and style of the three works, it is patent that their author is identical. Prof. Johnston, however, is not inclined to perceive such similarity in the sentiment and the language of *Vajrasūcī* and the other two works. I earnestly invite the attention of scholars to examine this problem more intimately and ascertain whether or not there is sufficient intimate ground to warrant us to declare that the author of the three works discussed in this note is one and the same person.

8. Dharmaparīkṣa of Śrutakīrti

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The available literature on Dharmaparīkṣā, published and unpublished, has been mentioned by Dr. A. N. Upadhye in his "Hariṣeṇa's Dharmaparīkṣā in Apabhraṃśa" published in the Silver Jubilee Number of the Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute Poona, Vol. XXIII, 1942. But the poem which I am introducing now does not find any mention there, naturally because the consolidated lists of manuscripts that were available had not noticed it. I have also not seen this work mentioned any where in MS. lists printed or unprinted, and to my knowledge, no one has uptil now noticed it any where in his work or article. The work is therefore altogether a new find.

This manuscript of Dharmaparīkṣā came in to my hands during one of my tours in search of Apabhraṃśa works. It contains 98 leaves, the first leaf and a few at the end are missing, the 98th leaf contains the text upto the 7th Kaḍavaka of which also the last Ghattā verse is not found, only' 'घत्ता-णियकट्ठु' words being available.

The loss of the first leaf has cost us the first Kaḍavaka, of which however the last two rhymes as well as the last word 'तोयपियारउ' of the previous line are preserved.

The last portion of the first Kaḍavaka of the work contained, as could be inferred from its available part, the glorification of Dharma and condemnation of those who would not devote themselves to it. The poet goes on to say that the Dharma was first preached in Bharata Kṣetra by Jinendra Ṛṣabha and the same was propounded for the present age by Vīra-nāha, i.e., Mahāvīra the last Tīrthaṁkara. The happiness to be obtained by religious life is then described and then the universe full of life of the lowest kind with immence suffering. The way to redemption is through Dharma which has come down through a line of teachers and the same was heard by a *Khecara* who then propounded it for the enlightenment of his friend. The main story thus begins in the middle of the first Kaḍavaka. The first Sandhi ends with the description of the 4th category of fools out of the 10. The second Sandhi begins with the description of the 5th category of fools and ends with the story of Chāyā and Agni and the second session concludes. The third Sandhi begins with the account of the third session. The story of the Kamaṇḍalu and its support from the Purāṇas is carried upto Kaḍavaka 16 and then the discourse on the nature of the universe according to Jainism begins. This is continued through the rest of the Sandhi and through the entire Sandhi 4th which is named लोकसरूववण्णणो. The story is resumed in Sandhi 5th when Manovega reappears in the garb of a Tāpasa and the fourth session begins. This session ends with Kaḍavaka 14th and the 5th session is described in the rest of this Sandhi which is called पंचमसाला-जय-वण्णणो. The sixth Sandhi is taken up by the description of the last session. The seventh Sandhi begins with Pavanavega's question as to the authorship of the Vedas. Our manuscript runs only upto the 7th Kaḍavaka which describes how the Brahmins who had taken to perverted practices stepped over a buffalo caught in a quagmire and killed it. The buffalo was reborn as an *Asura*. This account is found in the Hariṣeṇa's version in Kaḍavaka 6th of Sandhi 10. After this we have 11 more Kaḍavakas in the same Sandhi and 27 Kaḍavakas in the Sandhi 11 of Hariṣena. This account is missing from the available manuscript of Śrutakīrti's composition. It may be, however, presumed that it was completed in the 7th Sandhi itself in our work. The number of Kaḍavakas in the different Sandhis of the work is as follows :—

I = 25. II—33. III—30. IV—38. V—26. VI—20. VII—7-(?)

The name of the author Śrutakīrti and his teacher Tribhuvanakīrti is mentioned in the colophon at the end of each Sandhi. Unfortunately, no other information about the poet is available from the present manuscript of his composition. Looking into the list of Jaina authors and works— दिगम्बर जैन ग्रंथकर्ता और उनके ग्रंथ by Pandit Nathuram Premi, I found three entries against the name Śrutakīrti, namely, Harivaṃśa-purāṇa (Prakrit), the commentary of Gommaṭasāra and the gloss of Gommaṭasāra. A manuscript of the Harivaṃśa-purāṇa of Śrutakīrti is deposited at the Jaina Siddhānta Bhavana, Arah. Luckily, this work which is also in Apabhraṃśa, contains fuller information about the author.

The line of teachers of the Nandi Saṅgha is given as follows :—Prabhācadra Gaṇi, Padmanandi, Śubhacadradeva, Jinacandra, Vidyānandi, Padmanandi, Devendrakīrti, Tribhuvanakīrti, Śrutakīrti. The last is said to have completed the Harivaṃśa-purāṇa in V.S. 1552 at Mandanagarha in Malwa when Gyasuddin was ruling. (Praśasti Saṃgraha by K. Bhujabali Shastri p. 152). There is no doubt that the author of Dharmaparīkṣā is identical with the author of Harivaṃśa-purāṇa. Our work may, therefore, be assigned to about 1500 A.D.

9. References to Earlier Works in the Tiloyapaṇṇatti

By Professor Dr. A. N. Upadhye, Kolhapur.

Dr. W. Kirfel has given to us a systematic presentation of early Indian Cosmography in his Die Kosmographie der Inder (Kurt Schroeder, Bonn u. Leipzig, 1920) ; and he has devoted a separate Section to Jaina Cosmography which shows certain specialities. A good deal of cosmographical material is found scattered in Jaina literature, both canonical and non-canonical ; and even independent treatises of big bulk are devoted to this subject. The Tiloyapaṇṇatti of Yativṛṣabha is one such ancient text, the first part of which, comprising four Adhikāras, is lately published in the Jīvarāja Jaina Granthamālā (Sholapur 1943), and the second part would be soon out.

While reading the Tiloya-paṇṇatti (TP) one feels at every step that its author has rescued a great deal of information from earlier tradition ; in many places he frankly confesses that the necessary details on certain points are lost into oblivion; on many points have come down conflicting traditions which he records as they are : in some of these contexts he mentions certain earlier works by their names. It is proposed in this paper to shed some light on the works thus referred to in the TP :

Aggāyaṇiya (*Loyavinicchaya-m-Aggāyaṇie* IV. 1982) : As I understand it, this is a reference to Āgrāyaṇīya, the 2nd of the 14 Pūrvas included in the Dṛṣṭivāda, the 12th Aṅga. In earlier Prākrit sources it is spelt as Aggāṇīyaṃ or Aggeṇiyaṃ. If the saṃdhi-consonant is separated as noted above, the reading Maggāyaṇie really stands for Aggāyaṇie ; and I feel that Saggāyaṇī (IV. 217, 1821, 2029), Saṁgāyaṇī (VIII. 272), Saṁgāiṇī (IV. 2448), Saṁgoyaṇī (IV. 219) and Saṁgāhaṇi (VIII. 387) are just corrupt readings arising out of similitude of orthography, etc. When this text is being so often referred to with its dissenting views clearly specified, it only means that the author of TP had inherited a detailed knowledge of the Āgrāyaṇīya-pūrva.

Diṭṭhivāda (Dṛṣṭivāda) : There are at least three clear references to Dṛṣṭivāda (I. 99, 148, IV. 55), and the author of TP shows positive acquaintance with, if not positive inheritance of, the contents of it. Though the lists of its contents and divisions are preserved, the Jaina tradition is uniform in saying that the knowledge of it became gradually extinct. Some lines of Teachers might be knowing bits of it here and there. It is lately shown[1] by Dr. Hiralal Jain that major portions of Jīvatthāṇa, etc., have been taken from Āgrāyaṇīya-pūrva, the 2nd Pūrva, a subsection of the Dṛṣṭivāda.

Parikamma (Parikarma) : The author discusses his apparent difference from what is stated in the Parikamma (p. 765). Possibly this is a reference to the commentary of that name on the first three Khaṇḍas of the Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama attributed to Padmanandi alias Kundakunda.

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[1] Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama Vols. I and II Introd., Amaraoti, 1939-40.

Mūlāyāra (Mūlācāra) : The opinion of this text is quoted at VIII. 532, and we are able to trace it in the present-day text of the Mūlācāra, Paryaptyadhikāra, 80.

Loyavinicchaya (Lokaviniścaya) : This work is mentioned nearly a dozen times (IV. 1866, 1975, 1982, 2028, V. 69, 129, 167, VII. 203, VIII. 270, 386, IX. 9 as a Grantha). No work of this name has come to light as yet. Possibly it is the title of this work that has served as a model for Akalaṅka who has composed works like Siddhi-viniścaya and Nyāya-viniścaya, etc.

Loyavibhāga (Lokavibhāga) : This is mentioned some five times (I.281, IV. 2448, 2491, VII. 115, VIII. 635). It is being referred to along with Aggāyaṇī(IV. 2448) and Loyavinicchaya(IX. 9) rather than as a section thereof. At present there is available a Sanskrit text Lokavibhāga in 11 chapters by Siṁhasūri. The author tells us that his Sanskrit rendering is based on a similar work in Prakrit composed in Śaka 380 (+78) =458 A.D. by Sarvanandi in the 22nd year of the reign of Siṁhavarman of Kāñcī. The work of Sarvanandi is not available at present. Comparing the views mentioned in TP with those in the Sanskrit Lokavibhāga, Pt. Jugalkishore has rightly suggested[1] that the author of TP had before him the Prākrit Lokavibhāga of Sarvanandi.

Logāiṇī (Lokāyanī) : This text is mentioned twice (IV. 244, VIII. 530) with a specific reference to its contents or views. It is called a *grantha-pravara* which indicates its authority and importance.

The facts that the necessary contents referred to in the TP are found in the present-day text of the Mūlācāra and that similar contents are traced in the Sanskrit Lokavibhāga heighten the authenticity of these references. We have to see whether the Mss. of works like Lokaviniścaya, Loyavibhāga (in Prākrit) etc., are found in any of the libraries of Gujarat and Karnāṭaka which have disclosed rare finds in recent years.

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[1] His essay on TP which is in the press.

10. An Episode in Pandyan History

By Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, Madras

In dealing with the reign of Śrī Māṛa Śrīvallabha (A.D. 815—62) in my *Pāṇḍyan Kingdom* (1929) I relied on the general account of the reign in the larger Śinnamanūr plates and rejected the detailed account of the *Cūḷavaṁsa* of a Sinhalese invasion of the Madura kingdom in which the capital of the kingdom was sacked and its king lost his life. 'The Pāṇḍyan side of the evidence,' I said, 'makes the ruling king successful in repelling a Māyāpāṇḍya and thus keeping his throne to himself at the end of the struggle; the Ceylon account makes out a disaster of the first magnitude to the Pāṇḍyan kingdom from the story of the counter-invasion undertaken by Sena partly in support of the Pāṇḍya prince. There is no possibility of reconciling these accounts; one of them must be rejected as untrustworthy. Now on the face of it, it seems impossible to suppose that such a serious disaster befell the Pāṇḍya power in the reign of Śrī Māṛa and that the Śinnamanūr plates suppressed the truth or deliberately gave a false account of the reign.' And I explained the Ceylonese version by supposing that the occurrences of the Pāṇḍyan civil war of the twelfth century in which Ceylonese troops played a decisive part had been allowed to influence the story of an earlier age.[1]

In a short note in the Indian Antiquary[2] four years later Mr. F. J. Richards mildly questioned the correctness of my conclusion and indicated his view that the Ceylonese account was more trustworthy than it had appeared to me. I write this brief paper only to say that I now see the absolute correctness of Mr. Richards' position and to explain the events of this episode as I now understand them on a wider background.

First I must state that the relations between the Pāṇḍyan ruler and Ceylon are closely interwoven with those between him and the Pallavas who had a long political tradition of friendship with Ceylon and hostility to the Pāṇḍyas. This means that we must have a settled scheme of later Pallava chronology. For reasons which I shall fully explain elsewhere I think that the following scheme satisfies best all the various lines of evidence bearing on the subject.

Nandivarman II Pallavamalla —	65	years' rule		A.D. 731 - 796
Dantivarman	51	„		785 - 836
Nandivarman III	25	„		836 - 861
Nṛpatuṅga	41	„		855 - 896
(Nandi) Kampavarman	26	„	or more	878 - 904 or later
Aparājitavarman	18	„		879 - 897

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[1] PK. p. 71.

[2] 1933 p. 38.

It is well known that the whole of this period of a century and a half was marked by repeated conflicts between the Pallavas and Pāṇḍyas, and that Nandivarman II had to stand a siege at Nandipuram at the commencement of his reign by the Pāṇḍyas who were supporting a rival claimant to the Pallava throne by name Citramāya. Confining our attention to the reign of Pāṇḍya Śrī Māṛa, we must note that he was the inheritor of a policy of successful aggression against the Pallava inaugurated by his father Varaguṇa I (765-815) in the weak reign of Dantivarman. He continued the policy, and for several years after he began his rule, he was in occupation of the southern half of the Pallava kingdom including parts of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam and was even thinking of advancing against the Pallava capital Kāñchīpuram. Nandivarman III began his reign with the brilliant victory he won at Teḷḷāṛu against the Pāṇḍya and followed it up by many other successes by which the aggressor was confined within the bounds of his own kingdom, and, if we may trust the evidence of the *Nandikkalambakam*, the Pallava forces even reached the banks of the Vaigai on which the Pāṇḍyan capital stood. The result was that for the next two decades, Nandivarman III was left alone by Śrī Māṛa, and the Pallava kingdom extended in the south as far as Trichinopoly and Pudukkottah.

In the Sanskrit part of the Śinnamanūr plates (larger) occur the statements that Śrī Māṛa defeated the Māyā Pāṇḍya, the Karala, the king of Simhala, the Pallava and the Vallabha. The Tamiḷ portion confirms them and adds further that the king won victories at Kuṇṇūr and Viḷiñam as well as in Ceylon, and that he repulsed with great loss a confederation of Gangas, Pallavas, Cholas, Kalingas, Magadhas and others who offered battle at Kuḍamūkku or Kumbakonam. Just as Teḷḷāṛu, a Pallava victory, is nowhere mentioned in the Pāṇḍyan charters, the battle of Kumbakonam where the Pallava and his allies were defeated does not figure in the Pallava records. But there is an oblique reference to it in the Bāhūr plates of Nṛpatuṅgavarman. Verse 16 of this record runs :

Yat prasādāt-jitā senā Pāṇḍyena samare purā ।

pārericit sa-rājya-śrīr-dadāha ripu-santatim ॥

This means that the very Pallava army which had formerly been overpowered by the Pāṇḍya, managed by the grace of Nṛpatuṅga to burn up the crowd of enemies together with the prosperity of their kingdom on the banks of the Aricit. From this it seems a legitimate conclusion to draw that Nandivarman's forces were defeated at Kumbakonam towards the end of his reign, but very soon after Yuvarāja Nṛpatuṅga redeemed the position by decidedly defeating the Pāṇḍyas on the Aricit, the river Ariśil also near Kumbakonam. The Pallavas were aided in the struggle by the Gangas and Cholas and the Magadhas (people of Magadaimaṇḍalam in S. Arcot and Salem) who were all their fuedatories, as also by the Vallabha, i.e., in this period the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Amoghavarṣa I, whose daughter Śaṅkhā was the queen of Nandivarman III and the mother of Nṛpatuṅga. This reference in the Pāṇḍyan charter to the Vallabhass is corroborated in an unexpected manner by a Kannaḍa inscription from Mysore[5] which mentions that Deva, a son of Amoghavarṣa I, won a victory at Paḷaiyāṛu, near Kumbakonam, where, according to the *Nandikkalam-*

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[5] EC. X Cd. 76.

bakam the Pallava monarch fought with success against his enemies. Roughly, the battle of Kumbakonam may be placed in 859 and Aricit in the next year.

Let us now turn to the evidence from Ceylon. We read in the *Cūḷavaṁsa* under the reign of Sena I (A.D. 831-51) the following : 'Once later came the Paṇḍu king (to Anuradhapura—Geiger) with a great force from Jambudvīpa and began to take possession of the Island.' The king 'sent a strong army against him, but owing to the discord among the high dignitaries, the Paṇḍu king found an opportunity to get a firm footing.' His forces were swelled by the many Tamils already settled in the land joining them. The Island army 'was without zeal ; it scattered in fight and fled in all directions.' The king fled from his capital and the Yuvarāja Mahinda committed suicide, and was followed in this by many soldiers. The Ādipāda Kassapa kept up the fight bravely for some time, but 'he saw none following him' and so made his escape to Koṇḍivāṭa. 'The great army of the Paṇḍu king thereupon took the town' ; 'The Paṇḍu king took away all valuables in the treasure house of the king and plundered what there was to plunder in *vihāra* and town. In the Ratnapāsāda the golden image of the Master (Buddha), the two jewels which had been set as eyes in the stone (image of the) Prince of sages, likewise the gold plates on the Cetiya in the Thūpārāma, and the gold images here and there in the *vihāras*—all these he took and made the Island of Laṅkā deprived of her valuables leaving the splendid town in a state as if it had been plundered by Yakkhas'. Then Sena made his peace with the ambassadors sent to him by the Pāṇḍya king on their terms who thereupon left Ceylon and returned to his country. The exact date of this invasion is not known ; but this account fully justifies the Pāṇḍyan claim to victory in Ceylon.

The counter-invasion from Ceylon occurred in the reign of Sena II (A.D. 851-85) and is narrated with equal fulness of detail in the *Cūḷavaṁsa*.[4] 'Now at that time there arrived a son of the Paṇḍu king who, ill-treated by the king, had made the resolve to gain the kingship for himself. When the king (Sena) saw him he rejoiced greatly'. A well equipped expedition was placed under the Senāpati and the Pāṇḍyan prince with the following command : 'Arise, slay the Paṇḍu king, bring hither all the jewels formerly carried away from here, transfer to him the royal dignity and come hither again at once'. The force sailed from Mahātittha, and after reaching the opposite coast, it laid waste all the country on its route to Madhurā and surrounded the town. It soon entered the city, slaughtered its garrison, and pillaged every part of it. Then the Pāṇḍyan king heard the news, collected his army and came on in haste to open the fight. 'But as his troops were not complete the Ruler who riding on the back of an elephant was himself wounded by a spear, left the town to its fate, took flight and lost his life at the place whither he had betaken himself. His consort who had come with him also found (her) death'. The Senāpati of Ceylon inspected the treasures in the royal palace and recovered all the valuables that had been brought over from Ceylon besides seizing much else found in the town and in the country. He then consecrated the son of the Paṇḍu king and transferred the country to him. He took elephants, horses and whatever else he wanted, and made his way in a leisurely manner to the coast and back to Ceylon where he was received by Sena II with all honours. All the golden images that were brought back were restored to their proper places in the *vihāras*.

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[4] Ch. 51 vv. 27-51.

This account of the counter invasion in the chronicle is corroborated by the Ataveragollëva inscription[5] which calls Kassapa V 'son of the great king who won the fame of victory by conquering the Pāṇḍya country in the ninth year after the raising of the canopy of dominion by the great king Sri Sangbo' i.e. Sena II. The date corresponds to A.D. 860.

The main point in the Ceylon account is that the counter invasion was timed to coincide with the absence of the Pāṇḍya ruler elsewhere and his preoccupation in such a manner that he could hardly manage to come to the rescue of Madura which had been taken by the invader from Ceylon ; and even when he came, 'his troops were not complete' and he sustained a wound in fight of which he died soon after. This cannot be an accident, and I think we are justified in assuming an understanding between the Pallava and the Ceylonese ruler to act in concert against their common enemy, the Pāṇḍya.

Whether the rising in Kerala (battles of Kunnūr and Viḷiñam) was also part of the great plan, we cannot decide. Perhaps it was not, for Śrī Māṛa claims victory in both the battles and these could hardly have been won when he was so hard pressed, as he was at the close of his reign.

Lastly a word must be said about the identity of the son of the Pāṇḍya king who quarrelled with his father and went to Ceylon seeking help from Sena II. The Pāṇḍyan story is that Śrī Māṛa defeated the Māyā Pāṇḍya and kept his throne, while the Ceylon account is very different. Again Māyā Pāṇḍya means 'a false Pāṇḍya', an impostor ; but the term is used nearly half a century after the event. Even if the writers of the *praśasti* in the Śinnamanūr plates knew that it was a case of quarrel between Śrī Māṛa and his son Varaguṇavarman who followed him on the throne in A.D. 862, they had every reason to gloss over the fact and not mention it prominently as they were writing the account in the reign of a nephew of Varaguṇavarman. Everything points to the identity of the Pāṇḍyan prince who brought about the Ceylon invasion with Varaguṇavarman. And if this identification is correct, we must say that Varaguṇa II gained the throne perhaps a few years earlier than he would normally have done, but at a heavy price. He played into the hands of the enemies of the kingdom he wanted to make his own, and brought about the death of his father in tragic circumstances. This was not all. He had to accept a position of vassalage to the Pallava power after he was set upon his throne at Madura by the Sinhalese commander. There is an inscription at Tiruvadi in South Arcot[6] dated in the 18th year or Nṛpatuṅgavarman, A.D. 873 according to our scheme, which registers a large gift of 570 *kaḷañju* of gold to the temple of Vīraṭṭāneśvara placed in the hands of the Nagarattār of Adiyarayamangalam by Pāṇḍi-Varaguṇa-mahārājan. Later in his reign he attemped to recover his independence, but his hopes were blasted in the field of Śrī Puṛambiyam (A.D. 880).

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[5] EZ. II. p. 44.

[6] SII. XII, No. 71 (360 of 1921).

II. Mahārāja Śarvavarman of the Nirmand Copper-plate Inscription

By Jitendra Nath Banerjea, M.A., Ph.D., Calcutta.

The copper-plate inscription belonging to the temple of Paraśurāma in the village of Nirmand in the Kullu Division of the Kangra District of the Punjab records the allotment of the village of Śūlīsagrāma in the *agrahāra* of Nirmanda to some Brāhmaṇas for the purposes of the god Tripurāntaka by Mahārāja Mahāsāmanta Samudrasena. Samudrasena belonged to a line of feudatory chiefs in the region, and traced his descent from one Mahāsāmanta Mahārāja Varuṇasena, his great grandfather. The date of the inscription, year 6 in numerical sign, does not help us in fixing it chronologically. Fleet suggests that the year can very well be referred to the Harsha era on palaeographical grounds, but doubts 'the probability of the years of Harshavardhan's reign having been constituted an era of general acceptance quite so soon after his accession.'[1] He thinks that it is the regnal year of Samudrasena himself, who reigned some time (in the first half) of the seventh century A.D.

The god Tripurāntaka (Śiva, the destroyer of the demon Tripura) was installed under the name Mihireśvara by Samudrasena's mother Mihiralakshmī at a previously established shrine of the same god with the name Kapāleśvara. Kapāleśvara was installed by one Mahārāja Śarvavarman who also made some endowment to the deity at the time of its installation. Nothing is said in the copper-plate regarding the identity of Śarvavarman, and this has led to some difference of opinion among scholars about the determination of this problem. Aravamuthan is of opinion that he was the same as the Mahārājadhirāja Śarvavarman of the Maukhari lineage. He writes, "As we know of no other Śarvavarman of about this period, we may tentatively assume that the Maukhari Śarvavarman had been able to extend his dominions so far west in the course of his wars with the Hūṇas."[2] D. R. Bhandarkar admits the probability of the Mahārāja Śarvavarman of the Nirmand grant being the same as the Mahārājadhirāja Śarvavarman of the Āsirgaḍh Seal.[3] R. S. Tripathi, however, questions the identity. His principal grounds for holding a different view are the following: "The Maukhari king is uniformly endowed with such paramount titles as Mahārājadhirāja and Parameśvara in the dynastic records, whereas Śarvavarman of the Nirmand plate is described as a mere Mahārāja; Aravamuthan's view would mean that "the Maukharis exercised suzerainty over the intervening Vardhana dominions, and Prabhākara who certainly was an independent king, had to fight against the Maukharis to wrest independence. Of this there is not a shred of evidence, but on the contrary the manner of description in the *Harshacharita* shows that both the powers were on very amicable and cordial terms."[4]

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[1] Fleet, *CII*, Vol. III, p. 287.

[2] *The Kāveri, the Maukhari, and the Saṅgam Age*, p. 93.

[3] *List of the North Indian Inscriptions*, p. 255 f. n. 2.

[4] *History of Kanauj*, pp. 54-5

Tripathi is right in challenging Aravamuthan's theory about the extension of the Maukhari monarch's sway in a far distant corner of the Punjab, but the soundness of this part of his contention would not necessarily disprove that the king might have been the person responsible for the installation of the image of Kapāleśvara Śiva in the Kangra region. As Tripathi himself has shown, Śarvavarman was a mighty monarch who not only retrieved the partly lost fortunes of the Maukhari dynasty (his father Īśānavarman was defeated by the later Gupta king Kumāragupta) by defeating Dāmodaragupta, but also came in conflict with and vanquished the Hūṇas. The Āphsaḍ stone inscription of Ādityasena refers to the 'proudly stepping array of mighty elephants belonging to the Maukhari, which had thrown aloft in battle the troops of the Hūṇas (in order to trample them to death).'[5] Śarvavarman alone among the Maukhari kings is specifically described as 'the Maukhari' in the Āsirgaḍh Seal, and he was certainly the most important ruler of the dynasty. These Hūṇa opponents of the Maukhari were presumably holding some political power and influence in the north-west, and the Indian chiefs of the interior, especially the more powerful among them, sometimes went on war with these alien foes for their own safety and the security of the Indian hinterland. Bāṇa alludes to Prabhākaravardhana's fight against them, and there is much to be said in favour of Tripathi's suggestion that 'Śarvavarman's undertakings against the Hūṇas were a sort of help given to the Vardhanas to repel their depredations and save northern India from another Hūṇa upheaval.'[6] The religious act ascribed to Śarvavarman in the Nirmand plate might have been performed by the powerful Maukhari sovereign after his victory over the Hūṇas in the sphere of influence of his friends and allies, the Vardhanas of Thāneśvara (this part of the south-eastern Punjab might as well have been included in the Vardhana kingdom). The absence of any imperial titles connected with his name in the inscription would not be a strong point against this hypothesis, for the simple reason that the installation and endowment were not being done in his own territory. Pious acts performed in the dominions of contemporary friendly kings by monarchs of far more distant regions are on record in the history of ancient India. Two such instances can be cited here. It is a well-known fact that Samudragupta's Ceylonese contemporary Meghavarṇa sent an embassy with presents to the great Gupta sovereign and got his permission to build a splendid monastery to the north of the holy tree at Bodh-Gayā for the use of the pilgrims from Ceylon.[7] The Nālandā copper-plate of Devapāla records the grant of five villages in the *vishayas* of Rājagṛiha and Gayā by the Pāla king at the request of Suvarṇadvīpādhipati Mahārāja Bālaputradeva, grandson of a Śailendra king of Yava-bhūmi. The land was intended for the up-keep of a Buddhist monastery built by the Śailendra king at Nālandā.[8] It is true there is nothing on record in the Nirmand inscription which would definitely prove that Śarvavarman was the Maukhari chief obtaining permission from the real ruler of the land for the act of piety; but the reference to the pious deed itself is so casual or incidental in the inscription, that one may ignore this omission. There are, on the other hand, several positive reasons which taken collectively would support our contention. There is no other known Śarvavarman at this period; the dynastic list of the early mediaeval kings of Chambā, though it contains many names ending in a

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[5] *CII*, III, p. 206.
[6] R S. Tripathi, *op.cit.*, p. 47.
[7] *Ind. Ant*, 1902, p. 194.
[8] *Ep. Ind.*, vol. xvii, p. 316ff.

Varman, does not include it.[9] The king instals the image (most probably a Śivaliṅga) of the god Kapāleśvara Śiva, and the Maukhari Mahārājādhirāja was an initiated Śiva, for of all the Maukhari chiefs named in the Āsirgadh Seal, it is he alone who is described as *Parama-Māheśvara*. It is possible that he was a Pāśupata, and as such his installation of the Kapāleśvara form of Śiva would be highly appropriate. It has already been shown that he had to go far northwards from his kingdom during his political career, and it was probably during this expedition that an act of piety was done by him in a remote corner of the Himālayas, one of the strongholds of the Śaiva sect.

The Nirmand plate incidentally brings to light certain interesting facts connected with the history of the Śaiva sect. It shows that this locality had a Śaiva establishment sometime previous to the period of Samudrasena, where Śaiva clericals resided. The Brāhmaṇas studying the *Atharva Veda*, to whom the grant was made by the king, were probably their descendants. Mihireś-vara-Śiva's shrine was built inside the compound of the Kapāleśvara-Śiva temple under the auspices of Samudrasena's mother Mihiralakshmī. With regard to the name Mihireśvara, Fleet remarks, "the occurrence of the word *mihira*, 'the sun', as the first component of the god's name, seems to indicate that, in this particular case, some form or other of solar worship was combined with the Śaiva rites" (*op. cit.*, p. 288). The association of the Śaiva and Saura cults can be established on the basis of other data.[10] But 'Mihireśvara' here is evidently based on Samudrasena's mother's name.[11] It is of interest to note also the name of the Śaiva image installed much earlier by Śarvavarman. Kapāleśvara appears to have been chiefly associated with the Kāpālikas, a subject of the Pāśupata order. The existence of this subject in this period in a far distant corner of India is proved by the copper-plate inscription of Pulakeśin's II's nephew Nāgavardhana (1st half of the 7th century A.D.). It records the grant of a village near Igatpuri (Nasik district) 'for the worship of the god Kāpāleśvara and for the maintenance of the Mahāvratins residing in the temple.'[12]

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[9] J. Ph. Vögel, *Antiquities of the Chamba State*, pp. 82-95 ; a few only among them are known from their inscriptions.

[10] Cf. the *Mārttaṇḍa-Bhairava* image in the Rajshahi Museum Collection ; *Dacca History of Bengal*, Vol. I, p. 458.

[11] Cf. the name Pṛithivīśvara-Śiva in the Karamdāṇḍā Inscription, *Ep. Ind.*, vol. x, pp. 71 ff and pl.

[12] JBRAS, Vol. xiv, p. 26.

12. Some Mughal-Maratha Pacts Between 1707-1760.

By G. H. Khare, Poona.

Even though before the death of Aurangzeb, the signs of the decay of the Mughal empire were apparent, his death accelerated its decline. It was quite natural that the Marathas with whom he fought continuously for a period of about twenty-five years immediately before his death with all his resources and man-power, but who nullified all his efforts, should have become emboldened and tried to eclipse the Mughal empire, after his demise. Chhatrapati Shahu's release from Aurangzeb's captivity in 1707 A.D. very greatly facilitated its process though its progress was often hampered by the predecessors and successors of the first Nizam. I wish to trace this phenomenon here in short by citing some important Mughal Maratha pacts between 1707 and 1760.

After the death of Aurangzeb in the first quarter of 1707 A.D. when Chhatrapati Shahu's release became apparent, his paternal aunt Tarabai, who was at the helm of the struggling Maratha forces, fearing that his release might not only curtail the expanse of her kingdom, but even extinguish her rule altogether, applied to the then Mughal emperor for pardon and submission. But finding that Shahu had a stronger claim on Shivaji's Svarajya and that in Shahu's release there were better chances of stopping the decline of the Mughal empire, her request was rejected by the emperor.[1] The exact conditions of Chhatrapati Shahu's release are still uncertain , but it seems that he was to remain loyal and help the Mughal emperor and his *Subahdar* of the Deccan as much as he could. However it often happened that the emperor confidentially ordered Shahu to help the refractory party to annihilate the legal *subahdar* of the Deccan. In such cases Shahu always felt embarrased as to what way he should follow and consequently helped none, though he made all appearance of helping one party or the other. Thus in Sayyid Husain Alī's contest of 1715 A.D. with Daud Khan Panni, Shahu's general Nemaji Shinde, though present at the decisive battle of Burhanpur with all his forces, did nothing except watching the issue. But the ambitious Sayyid brothers for the sake of their own aspirations not only connived at this and other doings of the Marathas, but actually concluded a pact with Shahu by which Shahu's claim on Shivaji the Great's old Svarajya together with recent extensive additions and his rights to collect *Chauth* and *Sardeshmukhi* from the six *subahs* of the Deccan were recognised on condition that he would serve the emperor with fifteen thousand horse if required, their daily wages were of course to be defrayed by the emperor or the *subahdar* of the deccan.[2] Again in 1724 A.D. at the time of the battle of Sakharkhedle that took place between the first Nizam and Mubarizkhan, Bajirao I, the second Peshwa and other Maratha generals though present at the scene did nothing except watching the incident as per the orders of Shahu.[3] Owing to the imbecile nature of the Mughal emperors after 1712 A.D., the Irani and Turani parties in the Mughal court gradually not only gained a firm footing but worked actively for their own selfish ends and for the protection of the empire according to their own particular policies. The former believed in and sought the help of the Hindu kings and the Marathas especially, as theirs was the only power that could assist the party effectively. Bajirao I was, therefore, again and again requested to visit Delhi, meet the leaders of the party personally and get his demands acceded to from the emperor, on condition that the Marathas would help it to protect the empire.[4] Bajirao I indeed visited Delhi at the beginning of the second quarter of 1737 A.D., but in doing so he wanted to create a defeatist mentality in the Turani party there.[5] He succeeded in his intention; but to a small extent. Still after the Nizam's defeat by Bajirao I at Bhopal in the end of 1737 A.D. and Nadirshah's invasion in 1739 A.D. even the Turani faction though formerly quite against the Marathas realised the situation and Asafjah, the first Nizam and other leaders of that party tried to win over the Marathas by offering them better terms than the Irani party.[6] During Bajirao's lifetime however no important pact took place though the background for such a pact was practically prepared during the period between 1730 and 1740 A.D. In the beginning of Balaji Bajirao's ministry (12-5-1741 A.D.) a new pact was formed between the Mughal emperor Mahammadshah and Balaji Bajirao with the consent of both the Turani and the Irani parties[7] by which the latter (1) was given the deputy governorship of Malwa, (2) was allowed to collect his dues from the tract of country beyond the Jamuna and the Chambala as before, in consultation with Raja Ayamal, the minister of Sawai Jaisingh and (3) was given a cash of fifteen lakhs of rupees, in return of which, he agreed (1) not to allow any other Maratha general (excepting his own of course) to cross the Narmada, (2) to send his representative with five hundred horse to wait upon the emperor, (3) to punish the emperor's enemies with twelve thousand horse out of which the expenses of only eight thousand when on actual service were to be paid by the emperor, (4) not to demand any more money (5) and to occupy Malwa and the tract between the rivers Jamuna and the Chambala. It seems that Ranoji Shinde, Malharji Holkar, Yashavantarao Pavar and Pilajirao Jadhava the four Maratha generals under the Peshwa that were moving very actively in the North for a long time stood security to this pact.[8] Owing to the apprehension of the emperor, however, that the Peshwa and the Nizam both residing far away from Delhi in the Deccan might unit together and overthrow the emperor, the Peshwa Balaji Bajirao had to enter into a confidential pact on 18-5-1741 A.D. to the effect that he would not form any alliance with the Nizam without the previous consent of the emperor.[9] Between the years 1741 and 1751 A.D. some more pacts were indeed entered into; but I do not wish to detail upon them here. The pact which may be said to be a crowning one was entered into the first quarter of 1752 A.D. after the Afghan-Rohilla annihilation from the Doab and the second invasion of Ahmadshah Abdali of the Punjab, through the medium of the eunuch Javidkhan and the *vazir* Safdarjang. On certain conditions the Peshwa Balaji Bajirao and his

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[1] Rajwade Vol. VIII, No. 56

[2] Rajwade Vol. VIII, Nos. 77, 78 ; Treaties engagements etc. pp. 1-9.

[3] Persian Sources of Indian History, Vol. IV, p. 22, n. 2.

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[4] *Ibid* Nos. 6-10.

[5] Life of Brahmendrasvami Dhavadshikar No.

[6] Ningane Daftar Vol. I, Nos. 15, 17, 19-24.

[7] Persian Sources of Indian History, Vol. IV, No. 18

[8] Ibid No. 19.

[9] Ibid No. 20.

Sardars or generals Malharrao Holkar and Jayaji Shinde took the responsibility of protecting the whole of the Mughal empire against Ahmadshah Abdali and other enemies whosoever they may be.[10] By this pact, under the guise of protecting the empire the Marathas could roam over the length and the breadth of the North and actually enthroned and dethroned emperors.

The climax of all these pacts and doings was reached in 1759 A.D. when the then Mughal emperor Alamgir II, being thoroughly disgusted by the arrogant, ungrateful and faithless behaviour of the Vazir Imadul-mulk Ghazi-ud-din II and finding no other way left open except to rely upon the Peshwa Balaji Bajirao, by his farman of 20-8-1759 A.D. entirely entrusted the charge of the Mughal empire to Balaji Bajirao and his cousin Sadashivarao Bhau and declared himself satisfied with whatever pension they would like to sanction for him.[11]

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[10] Rajwade Vol. I, p. 8.

[11] Bharata Itihasa Samshodhaka Mandala Quarterly Vol. I, No. 1, p. 43. Though this document has all the appearance of a farman, it is in reality a document of complete renunciation of the Mughal empire in favour of the Peshwa Balaji Bajirao.

13. The Time-lag Problem in Indian Art History.

By Dr. H. Goetz, Baroda.

Our interpretation of archaeological and art monuments depends very much on their chronology. For without ascertaining their historical setting, their co-ordination with the economic, social and cultural life which has produced them, is impossible. But in the majority of cases sufficient epigraphic evidence is absent or misleading so that we have to fall back on style-critical arguments either to date them at all, or to interpret the few dates available. For inscriptional or traditional dates are very often misleading, and much confusion has been created by simply accepting them at their face-value. Innumerable buildings have been repaired or reconstructed so many times, have received grants on so many occasions, or their construction has dragged on over so long periods that the connection between epigraphic and archaeological evidence is very loose and needs careful checking at the hand of a style-critical analysis.

The accepted method in such a case is the comparison of the various style elements of the doubtful monument with those of others the time and history of which are known. Generally we presume that monuments of the same style belong to the same period. And in many cases this conclusion is correct, or approximately correct. However, it does not work in other cases. And the difficulties thus created have occasionally led to bitter controversies between scholars.

For the premiss is based on an oversimplified interpretation of historical facts. Cultural life never moves on one plane alone. Only the ruling class of a state, and there again that living in the capital, lead also the cultural changes of the day, i.e., are "fashionable". Even the upper classes outside the capital are "provincials", i.e., more conservative in their cultural habits and the other social classes lag behind in the general development the more, the lower their social status may be. Thus, the rural population in distant districts may conserve forms of life which had been those in the capitals hundreds, occasionally even thousands of years ago. This cultural time-lag, therefore, is not fixed, it is less in towns than in rural areas, it is less in industrial ages than in feudal periods, and it increases the lower it moves down the social ladder.

For this reason there can be no uniformity in the art of one and the same period, and likewise appear the same style forms not everywhere simultaneously, but turn up first as upper class fashions of the capital ; then, when they have already been superseded by novel fashions, they are still conserved for some time by the lower aristocracy, officialdom and higher middle class ; then they sink down to the lower gentry and middle class, and finally end in the countryside. The same process holds good in international relations. The fashions of the politically most influential state or state group are imitated, with some time-lag, by the society of dependent or otherwise less influential countries. We can observe this phenomenon in our own time, in every aspect of life, inclusive art. But we can trace it also in other periods. European art-historians are well acquainted with it. Renaissance art, e.g., reached France, Spain and Southern Germany almost a century after its rise in Italy, and still later Northern Europe. It was first introduced in the princely courts, and needed another century to reach the lower classes.

And here we can observe another phenomenon which will prove most useful in our later discussion. The provincial and lower circles are hesitant in taking over these novel fashions. On the one side they are anxious to appropriate such symbols of higher social status ; but on the other they are held back by the expensiveness of the new fashions and the social disrepute which would be cast upon persons who cannot honestly afford such luxuries. Thus they accept such new fashions piecemeal. This applies also to art. The new styles penetrate slowly, e.g. through the introduction of some new ornament motifs, one or other architectural form, a new official costume, the application of a new colour scheme. And often enough new provincial styles are created by such an assimilation which never progressed beyond an initial stage. Lower down the social ladder another factor becomes of importance. The new fashion can be accepted only when it is rendered cheap. Thus, though the general type is taken over, its original exquisiteness will be replaced by hasty and superficial workmanship, which in most cases implies also a simplification to the unavoidable minimum. Thus we have two indicia by means of which we can distinguish upper class from provincial and lower class products ; In the first case a mixture in which first the older, later the more modern form elements predominate. In the second case simplification and mass production.

In international relations finally we have to consider one more, but most important phenomenon. Generally the history of a nation or of a state is not the picture of a general uniform progress, but of periodical ups and downs connected with the rise and fall of dynasties and ruling classes. Each of these latter forms its own style, the product of a mixture of available earlier traditions fused in the mould of a new common ideal, finally evolving a novel style which often enough reveals little of its original components. In such a process the new capital and its sub-capitals first attract artists from everywhere. Then, when a new style evolves, the less adaptable artists are thrown out of service and emigrate to the provinces, whereas numerous new artists are trained in the capital. Next, a surplus of these "fashionable" artists seek employment also outside the capital. And finally when the crisis which earlier or later leads to the fall of this dynasty, ruling class or nation, reduces employment to a minimum, the artists have to emigrate in masses. Thus it is always during the political decline and fall of a state or of a civilization, that its art spreads most generally.

These observations apply to the history of art in India not less than to that in other countries. The subject is, of course, too vast and still too little explored as that it would be possible to discuss it here in all its ramifications. But at least so many examples may be quoted as to present a vivid idea of its importance for the study of Indian art. And it will be advisable to start with the art history of the last centuries because this time is better known and thus permits of a more exact analysis, whereas for the earlier periods we must restrict ourselves to some striking cases.

Let us first consider the Muslim and Hindu art in the Mughal Empire and its successor states ! The Mughals first introduced the architecture of Tīmūrid Turkistān and Safavid Persia. At the Mughal court it disappeared between 1570 and 1580, but it survived in the Panjāb until the invasions of Ahmad Shah Durrānī. However, since Jahāngīr individual classic Mughal forms began to intrude so that in the time of Muhammad Shāh only the glazed tile decoration remained, covered with purely Mughal ornaments and applied to a purely late Mughal architecture. The syncretistic Rājput-Muslim architecture, first evolved by Akbar at Fathpur-Sikrī, can be followed successively in Akbar's and Jahāngīr's palaces at Agra and finally in Jahāngīr's palace at Lahore. Banished from the court, it turns up under Shāhjahān in the tomb of the governor Īsā Khān Tārkhān at Thatha in Sind and, still hesitatingly, in Jai Singh I's durbār hall at Amber and in parts of the Jodhpur and Bīkāner Palaces. In Aurangzēb's time we find it, fully developed, in the mausolea of rājā Karan Singh and mahārājā Anūp Singh at Devīkund near Bīkāner but now strongly mixed with decorative motifs of the imperial marble style. In the 18th century it was used for tombs of the lower aristocracy of Bīkāner, in the 19th for the chhattrīs of the rājās of Pūgal, far off in the Thar Desert, now in an utterly simplified form. The marble style of Jahāngīr was first taken over by Mīrzā Rājā Jai Singh I of Amber ; under Aurangzēb the rulers of Jodhpur, Bīkāner and Udaipur imitated it ; since Sawāi Jai Singh II of Jaipur it had become general. But always the special Rajput forms lagged behind those of the later Mughals by a generation or two. And this architecture was in many places at last superseded by a hybrid, semi-European style introduced by French adventurers ; this style conserved until the middle of the 19th century French architectural and decorative motifs which in Europe had come out of fashion already before the French Revolution.

Though Akbar had already introduced the Rājput style of painting into the Mughal miniatures, the actual birth of classic Mughal painting coincides with the disgrace and death of Mān Singh of Amber and Rāi Singh of Bīkāner who as imperial vassals, governors and generals had temporarily controlled a third of the Mughal Empire, and with the dispersal of the many Rājput artists employed by those mighty princes. From this moment we can observe an opposite development, i.e., the invasion of Rājputānā by Mughal painting until about A.D. 1710-20 Rājput court painting could hardly be distinguished from Mughal work. Between 1690 and 1760 the Rājput courts were simply overrun by artists and artisans from the decaying Mughal Empire. But the process was gradual. The feudal residences cultivated the Rājput style expelled from the courts until late in the 17th century, and it survived up to the middle of the 18th century in Jain painting which, in its turn, had accepted, the already flourishing Rājput style only at the end of the 16th century, still sticking to its earlier Gujarātī traditions.

These provincial Rājput miniatures are seldom in a pure style, but often combine an early Rājput drawing technique and composition with later Mughal costumes or colour schemes. And as practically all Rājput capitals have been looted at some time or other by the armies of Shāhjahān, Aurangzēb or Bahādur Shāh, we have to reconstruct the history of Rājput painting mainly from these later provincial works. As their dates naturally conflict with the style history ascertained otherwise, this contradiction has given occasion to many disputes. In the Himālaya the Nūrpur-Basohlī school was started by emigrees from Amber and has preserved many motifs of Akbar's time up to late in the 18th century. The Kāngrā school of painting, on the other hand, was inaugurated by Mughal refugees from the Panjāb and Oudh. The architectural setting of the latter is the style of Oudh evolved under Shujā- and Āsaf-ud-daula. When the Kāngrā school broke up, painters dispersed over the minor hill states which so far had been able to acquire only few Kāngrā paintings, but now started studios of their own ; and when these states were annexed or ruined by the Sikhs, the artists sought employment at the court of Ranjīt Singh. In all these cases the styles are closely interrelated, but always they represent successive phases, either as provincial survivals or migrations of artists.

Of the pre-Mughal Muslim period we know much less. And yet the facts which we can trace, point towards the same art-historical phenomena. In the Panjāb and Rājputānā the architecture of the Lodī dynasty was still in fashion in the time of Humāyūn and Akbar. Architectural forms of the Khiljī and Tughluq dynasties have survived in the provincial art of Rājputāna, Central India and the Himālaya as late as the 18th century. Other Muslim decorative motifs which have not yet been traced in India, but the prototypes of which in Saljuq or Īlkhānī Persia or 'Abbāsid Sāmarrā we know, have turned up in the Panjāb Himālaya and the Thar Desert.

The Mediaeval Hindu art of Solanki and Vāghelā Gujarāt continued to exist in Kumāon about 1400 and, in mixed and simplified forms, in Rājputānā until the 16th century. After the Muslim conquest the Buddhist art of Bihār and Bengal found a refuge in Nepāl, Tibet, Burma and the late Chālukya Deccan, or survived in the folk art of the Bengalī lowlands, from where it returned into the Muslim architecture of Gaur and the Mughal architecture of Shāhjahān. Echoes of the art of Vijayanagar can be traced for two decades after the fall of that last Hindu Empire over the whole of the Deccan, Orissa and Rājputānā, of course, again mixed with other elements or simplified until their ultimate absorption. Pratihāra architecture had early penetrated the Himālaya at Jageśwar, Masrūr, Bajaurā. But a second wave of temple building set in during the decline of the Pratihāra dynasty, at Ballaur, Chambā, Dwārahāt, and survived there in degenerated forms until the 11th and 12th centuries.

Gupta art spread already in its golden days to the Vākāṭaka kingdom, but we have strong reasons to surmise that the style of the Vākāṭaka frescoes at Ajantā lagged behind contemporary Gupta painting by ca. half a century, in the same way as later the Rājput-Mughal style lagged behind that of the court of Delhi. The greatest expansion of Gupta art, however, coincided with the disintegration of Gupta civilization in the 6th, 7th and early 8th centuries. Works of emigree Gupta artists and imitations of Gupta art we find over the whole area from Chambā (Brahmōr and Chhatrārhi) and Masrūr over Eastern Rājputānā, Gujarāt and Kāthiāwār down to Aihole in the Deccan and Nalatigiri in Orissa. And beyond, over Eastern Turkistān to T'ang

China, Malaya, Java, Funan and Champā. At Brahmor in Chambā at least we can trace a time-lag of ca. three quarters of a century in the style development, and in Śrīvijaya, Dwāravatī, Java, Funan and Śrīdeva the echo of the Gupta tradition continued to be felt for one to two centuries after it had been lost in its home country.

How far a similar time-lag existed inside Gupta society, is at present difficult to say. But it is interesting to observe that the dates of figural terracottas ascertained during the excavations at Ahichchhattra-Rāmgarh are almost always somewhat later than those constructed by other scholars on the basis of a comparison with stone sculptures. On both sides a serious error is improbable. Have we thus to conclude that the corresponding terracotta types, used mainly by the lower classes, still continued to be in fashion when their stone prototypes had already been superseded by more developed types ? At least in Central Asia we know such a development. The plaster sculpture of the late Indo-Afghān school of Gandhāra and of the Western Panjāb was repeated for other two centuries in the oases of Eastern Turkistān after its homeland had been thoroughly devastated by the White Huns ; and there, too, we can observe a degeneration of the original types, an admixture of East-Īrānian and Mongoloid features. Remnants of Gandhāra art survived, on the other hand, in the architectural tradition of Kashmīr, long after the Indo-Afghān style had disappeared, now, however, combined with a sculpture inspired from Madhyadeśa and Bengal.

The Kushāna period offers us another, and most striking example of an art historical time lag, i.e. the co-existence of the Mathurā and Amarāvatī schools. Whereas Mathurā art, then in the focus of the political and cultural struggle, proved to be the forerunner of Gupta art, that of Amrāvatī, in the furthest corner of Andhra influence, merely refined the earlier traditions. With other words, this very refinement was an expression of provincialism and like all suchlike provincial archaisms, it incorporated a sprinkling of more modern ideas from Mathurā, Gandhāra, etc., however, without shaking off its conservative traditionalism. It is interesting to observe that the Amarāvatī traditions in its turn, survived in Ceylon and Greater India into the Gupta period, at last mixing with the succeeding Gupta style, e.g. in Buddha bronzes from Perak and Kedah, and at Anurādhapura.

How far time-lags due to provincialism may be traced in earlier Indian art, has not yet been explored. Personally I am inclined to find it in the Kshatrapa cave temples at Kanheri and Nasik, the architecture and sculpture of which reveal little progress since the second century B.C., but a considerable archaism is comparison with the contemporary or slightly later schools of Amarāvatī and Mathurā. A more striking case is found in the Panjāb Himālaya. In the upper Chandrabhāgā Valley the lotus roundel which was used so generally at Bhārhūt, Sānchī, Mahābodhi and Mathurā, was still in fashion in the 11th and 12th centuries for the fountain stones (corresponding to the Pāliyās of Rajputana and Virākkals of the Deccan) of the local aristocracy. And in the folk art of the Gaddis of Brahmōr we find it even to-day, with exactly the same figural filling in the centre of the lotus which had been so common on the Mahābodhi railing more than two thousand years earlier. Unfortunately the links between those early Middle Indian and Mediaeval or modern Himālayan examples have not yet been discovered, if we except, perhaps, the very summary representations of chaityavṛikshas surrounded by railings on the Audumbara coins.

The earliest certain case of a provincialist time-lag, finally, is Maurya court art. There has been much discussion whether Maurya art had been indigenous or foreign. It is certain that already in Maurya times a national Indian art flourished, and that even Maurya art drew its inspiration from Indian sources. On the other hand we cannot deny that the Maurya emperors copied the Achaemenian-Persian court and its art in a considerable measure. They must have employed even a limited number of Persian master masons and architects, though these latter had to adapt to Indian ideals their Persian traditions of technique and typology. Now Achaemenian Persia had been overthrown in the very lifetime of Chandragupta Maurya, and those Persian artists at the Maurya court must have been emigrees like those Mughal architects and painters who after the fall of the Mughal Empire found a refuge in Rājputānā or the Himālaya, or those South Indian artists who after the fall of Vijayanagar worked at the courts of the Deccan sultanates and even in Rājputānā.

Whether in our enquiry we can go back to Vedic and Mohenjo-Daro times, I feel not sure. The ground on which we can tread there, still is not safe enough. The phenomenon of the time-lag must have been valid also for those proto-historic periods. But as long as our knowledge of the political and cultural relations of those times is so hazy, we can not introduce it into our considerations.

I do not pretend that the material outlined here is more than sketchy, nor that all of it is new. My intention merely is to draw attention to a phenomenon valid everywhere in art history, but hitherto never systematically applied to that of India. It helps us to co-ordinate lot of apparently conflicting observations and thus to solve many confused problems. And it permits us also to make use of later stray vestiges in provincial and folk art to fill up gaps in the earlier phases of official art. On the other hand it also creates many new problems by putting in question apparently simple co-ordinations, the more as it does not offer a simple alternative solution. For the time-lag is a variable factor, and it can be taken into consideration only after a careful analysis of the monumental evidence pointing towards a first or second migration from a leading to a secondary political or cultural centre, from court to province, from provincial to folk art, and a not less careful analysis of the historical background indicating the probable directions of suchlike movements. But despite all these difficulties the phenomenon of the time-lag will prove a fruitful new approach to the study of Indian art.

14. Churli or Chuḍāpallikā of the Vailla-Bhaṭṭa-Svamin Temple Inscription in the Gwalior Fort (Dated Saṁvat 933)

By Dr. D. R. Patil, Gwalior.

The Vailla-Bhaṭṭa-Svāmin or the popularly known as the "Chaturbhuja" temple is situated on the steep ascent to the famous historical fortress of Gwalior from the Gwalior gate side. It contains two inscriptions of the reign of the king Bhoja of the Gurjara-Pratihāra dynasty of Kanauj. Both the inscriptions are dated bearing the dates 932 and 933 respectively of the Vikrama era and were edited long age by Hultzsch[1] but there are certain place-names mentioned in the second inscription of Saṁvat 933 which Hultzsch could not then identify. It is proposed in this short note to locate one of these which I happened to notice in the course of my touring duties.

The inscription states that "the whole town gave to the temple of the nine Durgās, viz. Rudrā, Rudrāṇī, Parṇāśā, etc. which Alla, the son of Vailla-Bhaṭṭa, had caused to be built on the further bank of the Vṛśchikālā river, a piece of land belonging to the village of Chūḍā-pallikā, which was its (i.e. the town's) property. . . . . . for a flower garden on an auspicious day."[2]

Now about twenty miles south-east of the fort is situated a small village named Churli which in the local accent can very well be rendered into Chudli also. The existing village is situated on the western bank of a small *nala* or brooklet which in the monsoons empties into the Tekanpur dam close by in the centre of which was built recently a water palace by the Maharaja Scindia as his pleasure retreat in summer. On the eastern bank of the *nala* opposite the village are a number of cultivable fields which are found strewn over with brick-bats and potsherds thus definitely indicating it to be a site of an old town.[3] On the bank of the *nala* itself are seen a number of sculptures and carved fragments and traces of plinths of ancient temples definitely belonging to the Śaiva faith. From the style of the carving of these sculptures and from the simple plan indicated by the traces of their plinths there seems to be doubt about the fact that the temples were built some time in or after the later Gupta period.[4] The evidence of the few terra-cottas discovered here also point to the same date. The site is thus a very old one datable to the later Gupta period at least and from its extensive area covering about a half square mile would certainly deserve to be excavated when funds permit.

It is obvious linguistically that the modern name Churli or Chudli should have been derived from the ancient Sanskrit name of Chūḍa-pallikā mentioned in the aforesaid inscription from the Gwalior fort. The inscription is dated Saṁvat 933 while the actual remains discovered at the place take its antiquity still earlier by two centuries at least. These and the fact of its proximity to the fort thus leave no doubt about the identity of the place.

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[1] *Epigraphia Indica*, I, pp. 154. ff.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 160.

[3] See *Annual Report of the Archaeological Department, Gwalior State* for 1929-30, p. 14. Mr. Garde discovered here a Jain Chaumukha, traces of three Śiva temples such as the sculptures of Mahiṣāsura-marddinī, etc., and an Eka-mukha-liṅga and a terra-cotta image of a seated goddess. Last year while inspecting the same site I picked up from the surface a terra-cotta fragment of a bull, a terra-cotta bead, a hammer-stone and a few iron slags.

[4] Mr. Garde also assigns the site to the later Gupta period ; See *op. cit.*

15. A Re-Study of the Monuments at Hiremagalur

By L. Narasimhachar, M.A., Mysore.

It is not proposed to give in this article a detailed account of the monuments at Hiremagalur for it has already appeared in the Annual Reports of the Mysore Archaeological Department for 1916 and 1942. I propose mainly to deal with the antiquity of the place as evidenced by the Yūpastambha and a peculiar sculpture called the Jademuni in front of the Īśvara temple at the place.

In the Annual Report of the Department for 1945 (pp. 110 ff.) are published two inscriptions Nos. 7 and 8 (Plate 17) which had not been noticed previously by any of the officers of the Department of Archaeology in Mysore. Of these inscriptions No. 8 belongs to about the 10th century A.D. and records the setting up of the pillar (called the Bali pillar in the inscription) by a certain Anniah. This would accord with the view held upto now by scholars that the antiquity of the place, apart from the Pauranic account, goes back to the period of Gaṅgas. Indeed, some of the monuments, notably the Īśvara temple and a few sculptures, are ascribable to this period.

But Inscription No. 7 which is carved on the western face of the base of the pillar contains an inscription in cave characters of the variety met with in the Sātavāhana inscriptions. On grounds of paleography it has to be ascribed to a period slightly earlier than the Chandravalli inscription of the Kadamba king Mayūraśarman and the Malavalli pillar inscription No. 2 of the same king. The pillar, too, resembles the Talagunda and Malavalli pillars in material and style of workmanship and it is not improbable that it was set up by Mayūraśarman himself to commemorate the event of his conquest over the 'Saindhakas' who, up to his time, ruled as subordinates of the Chutu-Nāgas in this part of the country, and whose conquest by Mayūraśarman is mentioned in his Chandravalli Inscription. (M. A. R. 1929).

The tradition about the pillar is that it marks the spot where king Janamejaya celebrated the Sarpayāga. We may note here that the Saindrakas belonged to a Nāga race and that their conquest by Mayūraśarman gave rise to this tradition.

The pillar stands in front of the Īśvara temple. It is therefore not improbable that though, structurally, the Īśvara temple belongs to the 10th century A.D. the main liṅga here as at Talagunda and Malavalli, belongs to the 3rd century A.D.

So far as the peculiar sculpture called the 'Jademuni' is concerned (described in M.A.R. 1942, p. 46) it must be noted that we have not met with such sculptures among the monuments of the period elsewhere in the Mysore State.

Its short stature, grotesque features, drapery and facial expression mark the image as a very ancient one. It is very likely that it hails from the 3rd century A.D. In point of style and of workmanship it cannot be classed among other known sculptures of the 10th century A.D. in the Mysore State.

To sum up :—

1. The Yūpastambha at Hiremagalur commemorates the victory of the Kadamba king Mayūraśarman over the Saindrakas as mentioned in his Chandravalli inscription.

2. It marks the spot where Mayūraśarman performed the Aśvamedha.

3. The tradition current in the locality to the effect that king Janamejaya performed the Sarpayāga here really refers to Mayūraśarman's conquest over the Saindrakas who belonged to a Nāga race.

4. The liṅga of the Īśvara temple and the image of Jademuni can both be ascribed to the 3rd century A.D.

16. Some Phenomena in MIA. Accidence

By Dr. Sukumar Sen.

1. *The Survival of OIA. Present Participial Forms.* The regular treatment of the OIA. present participle is the transference of the strong base to the *a*-stem ; e.g. OIA. *gacchant-*. MIA. *gacchanta-* ; OIA. *dayanta-* ; MIA. *denta-*; etc. There are a few forms in MIA. which are regarded as direct survivals from OIA, such as Pali *jīvaṃ*, *passaṃ*, *kubbaṃ* etc. and Asokan (Girnar) *karuṃ*. The Pali words may very well be loans from Sanskrit, but the Asokan form, presupposing OIA. **karon* (**karun*), is genuine MIA. and its base is OIA. **karont-* (the expected extended bases *karo(n)ta* and *kara(n)ta-* also occurring in the other two nom. sg. forms in Girnar, *karoto* and *karāto*). Pali forms like *passo*, *jāno*, etc. are explained as transfers to the *a*-stem minus the consonantal part of the affix : **paśya-*, **jāna-*. But the only clear instance of such a transfer is the solitary Pali form (gen. sg.) *anukubbassa* (Geiger 97). There is however no reason to take the nom. sg. forms as transfer forms in view of the fact that the other case forms available are directly inherited from OIA. Thus :

	Nom. sg.	Gen. sg.	Nom. pl.
Pali	*passo* (*passaṃ*)	*passato*	
	jāno (*jānaṃ*)		*jānaṃto*
As. (G)	*karu* (*karum*)		*tisṭaṃto*
Kharoṣṭhī Dhammapada	*apaśu* (=*apaśyan*)	*pasato* (*pasatu*)	

The nom. sg. in *-o* (*-u*) of the pres. part. occurs frequently in Khar. Dh. So also in Pali where it is confined to the oldest stratum of the language. The Asokan forms are confined to the archaic dialect of Girnar. It does not occur in the Prakrits. The development of the *-o* (*-u*) nom. from IE. is indicated below.

(a) Thematic : IE. *spekients (*spekionts) : *spekiens (*spekions) : II. spaśyans : OIA. *paśyans* (a sandhi form), *paśyan* : MIA. (Pali) *passaṃ*. IE. *juīuents: *juīuens : II. zīvans: Avestan *jvas* OIA. *jīvan*: MIA. (Pali) *jīvaṃ*.

(*b*) Athematic : IE. *bhibhrṇts : II. *bibhrats : Avestan **bibras* (*bibrō*), (cf. *stavas*, *-hisas*) ; OIA. *bibhrat*, **bibhraḥ*.

Before the end of the II. period the athematic nom. had dialectally intruded into the thematic, and so we get the non-nasal forms like Avestan *barō*[1] (**bharas* : **bharats*), *bərəzō*[1] (**bərəzas* : **bərəzats*) ; *bṛhas-* (*in bṛhaspati-*) ; OIA. *bhoḥ* (a voc. particle, originally nom.-voc. sg. of pres. part. *bhavant-*) : **bhavas*; **bhavats* ; As. (G) *karu* (*karus* : **karots*) ; Pali *passo* (**paśyas*: **paśyats*), *jāno* (:**jānas* : **jānats* ; Khar. Dham. *apaśu* (:**apaśyas* : **apaśyats*), *muju* (:**muñcas* : (**muñcats*), *anusmaro* (:**anusmarats*), *anuvicitayo* (**-vicintayats*), *smihao* (:**sprihayats*).

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[1] Not an *a*-stem form as Reichelt thinks (Awestisches Elementarbuch 359), the other case forms of *bərəzant-* being consonantal.

2. *Asokan apheni, tupheni* ; *eteni.*

apheni and *tupheni* occur only in the second separate edict at Jaugada (11. 7-11), in place of *aphe* and *tuphe* in the Dhauli version.

Jaugada	Dhauli
etāye aṭhāye hakaṃ *tupheni* anusāsāmi	etasi athasi hakaṃ anusāsāmi *tuphe*
anane etakena hakaṃ *tupheni* anusāsitu chaṃdaṃ ca veditu. . . .	anane etakena hakaṃ anusāsitu chaṃdaṃ ca veditu. . .
athā pitā hevaṃ ne lājā ti atha atānam anukampati hevaṃ *apheni* anukampati pajā. . .	atha pitā tatha devānaṁ piye athā aphāka aṭhā ca atānam hevaṃ devānaṃ piye anukampati *aphe* athā ca pajā...
tupheni hakaṁ anusāsitu chaṃdaṃ ca veditu. . .	se hakaṃ anusāsitu chaṃdaṃ ca veditu. . .

In all the three occurrences *tupheni* is governed by *anuśās-* (as also *tuphe* in the other version) as an indirect object (dative-accusative-genitive). This is in consonance with the Vedic use of the dative with a verb meaning announcement. *apheni* (and Dh. *aphe*) is governed by *anukamp-* 'to be gracious to'. Such a verb in Vedic governed the dative, and *apheni* can be taken as such. *atānaṃ*, also governed by the same verb is no difficulty. *atānaṃ* really refers to *pajā* 'children' and therefore it can only be taken as gen. pl. *atanaṃ* (=*ātmanām*) and not as acc. sg. (=*ātmānam*). This establishes a better correspondence between *apheni* (dative- accusative) and *atanaṃ* (genitive-dative).

eteni occurs, and only once, in the Bhabru minor rock edict (1. 8) ; "eteni bhaṃte imaṃ likhāpayāmi abhipretaṃ me jānaṃtū ti." 'For these (purposes), reverend sirs, I cause this (edict) to be written ; let them know my intention.' *eteni* clearly stands for the dative-genitive pl.

The first parts of *apeni, tupheni* and *eteni* are obviously OIA. *asme, *tuṣme* (=*yuṣme*) and *ete. asme* and *yuṣme* in Vedic are locative-datives, extended to the accusative and the genitive in MIA. *ete* too must have occurred as such an oblique pl. case form in dialectal OIA. The second part *-ni* is originally a pronominal particle which features as the additional ending for the nominative-accusative pl. neuter, at first attached to the pronoun (*tā-ni, etā-ni, yā-ni*), then extended to the noun. It occurs in the Arcadian dialect of Greek viz. (*tō-ni* (gen. pl.) and *tān-ni* (acc. sg. fem.)

3. *The Pronominal Ending* (*Gen. Pl.*) *-siṃ.*

Ardhamāgadhī has some gen. pl. pron. forms in *-sim.* The old grammarians noted a few such forms for other Prakrits also. The later inscriptional Prakrit has at least one such form to its credit. The forms available are ; *tesiṃ, tāsiṃ* (fem.) ; *etesi* (Pallava Ins.), *eesiṃ, eyāsim* (fem.) ; *esiṃ* ; *imesiṃ* ; *jesi* (*ṃ*) : *kesiṃ* ; *annesiṃ.* One of the sources of the Apabhraṁśa ending *-hi-*(*ṃ*) might have been this *-siṃ.*

-siṃ is not a late mutation of OIA. *-saṃ* as is generally held. It goes back (IE. **-siṃ* which occurs as the dual ending (*-ṃ* : **-hin* : **-sim*) in Greek, where from the pronoun (e.g. noin, spān) it was extended to the noun.

17. Derivations of Some Unnoticed Vedic Hapax Legomena.

By Aryendra Sharma, M.A., D.Phil., Hyderabad, Dn.

kúli occurs in a rather obscure passage of the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa : *kā mihaikāḥ ká imé pataṅgāḥ, mānthālāḥ kúli pári mā patanti* । *ánāvṛtainān prádhamantu devā'ḥ, saúparṇaṁ cákṣus tanúvā videya* ॥ (*TB*. 2. 5·8·4)

This has been rendered by Ludwig (Ṛgveda IV, p. 351) as follows :—"'What mists, what gnats are these? How many clouds are flying around me!' Let the gods blow them away, never again to return. May I secure for myself an eagle's vision."

In translating *kúli* by "how many" Ludwig follows Sāyaṇa who says, *kulaṁ samūhas tadrūpatām āpannāḥ kuliśabdenocyante, te ca saṅghaśo mā māṁ pari patanti.* Ludwig further compares *kúli* with Slavic *koli* (ibid.) and with the Bengali Plural Suffix *-guli* (ibid. VI, p. 105). Professor Chatterji (Origin and Development of the Bengali Language II, p. 727) derives the Bengali Suffix from a hypothetical OIA. **kulikā*. This can now safely be said to have been corroborated by the actually occurring *kúli,* used exactly in the same sense as Bengali *-guli.*

As for the derivation of *kúli,* Ludwig's comparison with the Slavic word would suggest that OIA. *kúli* goes back to IE. **qu el–, *qu ol-* "to turn, to rotate," to which also belong OIA. $\sqrt{car}$ "to wander," *cakrá-* "wheel, "Lat. *colo* "to drive," Old Bulg. *kolo* "wheel," *o-kolo* "around," etc., (See Walde-Pokorny I, p. 315 and Bernеker Slav. Etym. Wörterbuch I, p. 548). Ludwig apparently would not connect *kúli* with OIA. *kúla-* "family, swarm," presumably because *kúla-* belongs to a different IE. root (Walde-Pok. ibid., p. 517). But the similarity between OIA. *kúli* and *kúla-*, both phonetic and semantic, is too patent to be ignored.

The Dhātupāṭha (I. 895) mentions a root $\sqrt{kul}$ "to heap up, to pile up, to accumulate." But it is purely lexical and, in all probability, a 'back-formation' from *kúla-*. Benfey (Griech. Wurzellexicon II, p. 288 f.) connects OIA. Lex. *kúli-* "hand" with $\sqrt{kul}$ of the Dhātupāṭha, presumably because a hand is hollow, and can hold a "heap"!

The formation of *kúli* is rather unusual. The only obvious suggestion is to regard it as an Adverb, being the Neuter Accusative Singular of *kúlin-*, Adj. and meaning "in family, in a herd."

dulā'- and *bulā'- dulā'-* occurs in the Taittirīya Saṁhitā (4.4.5.1) as the name of one of the iṣṭakās which are here identified with the rain-bringing Kṛttikās : *ambā' dulā' nitatnír abhráyantī megháyantī varṣáyantī cupuṇīkā' nā'mā'si.*

The same passage, with slight variations, is met with in the Kāṭhaka Saṃhitā 40·4, the Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā 2·8·13 and the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa 3·1·4·1· The Maitrāyaṇī alone reads *bulā́*- for *dulā́*- of the rest. *bulā́*- has not been noticed in the Dictionaries, nor discussed elsewhere, whereas *dulā́*- has been mentioned in the Dictionaries merely as the name of a Kṛttikā. Neither Sāyaṇa, (TS. and TB.), nor Keith (TS.) attempts to explain *dulā́*-. Vedic Variants II § 179 regards both *dulā́*- and *bulā́*- as "obscure."

dulā́- occurs, in a totally different context, also in the Āpastamba Mantrabrāhmaṇa 2·16·8, Hiraṇyakeśi-Gṛhyasūtra 2·7·2 and Bhāradvāja Gṛhyasūtra 2·7. *dulā́*- in these texts is the name of the mother of the Dog-Demons :

dulā ha nāma vo mātā mānthākako (HG. Bhār G. *maṇḍākako*) *ha vaḥ pitā.*

Oldenberg, SBE 30, p. 220, translates *dulā*- with "The staggering one" (with a query), obviously deriving it from OIA. $\sqrt{\textit{dul}}$ "to swing, to stagger." The meaning suits the context fairly well.

But *dulā*- thus derived is not so appropriate as the name of a rain-bringing Kṛttikā, especially in view of the other designations, *abhráyantī*, *megháyantī* and *varṣáyantī*, occurring in the same passage.

It was, perhaps, for this reason that Weber (Sitz. Ber. Preuss. Akad. 1894 II, p. 812, Note), and following him Brunnhofer (Arische Urzeit, p. 90) and Zachariae (DLZ. 1898, p. 1955) suggested a Semitic origin for *dulā*-. They compare *dulā*- with Hebrew *dili* "a pail, a leatherbag for drawing water," Syriac *dulah* and Arabic *dalā* "to scoop, to draw water." They would thus interpret *dulā*- as "a pail for drawing water," which fits into the present context much better than "the staggering one." But, since there is no evidence of borrowing, Weber's suggestion is hard to accept.

[The comparison, however, reminds one of the Hindi word *ḍol*, which, like Hebr. *dili*, means "a pail, a bucket." *ḍol* is usually connected with the Hindi $\sqrt{\textit{ḍolnā}}$ "to swing" OIA. $\sqrt{\textit{dul}}$, implying that a bucket is called *ḍol*, because it "swings" while being carried or drawn. But the derivation is obviously not convincing. Nor can we derive *ḍol* from OIA. *dróṇa*-, *dróṇī*- "vat, vessel, trough," even if we accept OIA. *dra*- and *ṇa*- as the fore-runners of MIA. and NIA. *ḍa*- and *la*- respectively in *ḍol.* (See Wackernagel, Altind. Gramm. I § 147 and §172 C). For *dróṇī*- is already represented by *doṇī* in MIA. (See Pāia-Sadda-Mahaṇṇavo, s.v.). It is much easier, and much more convincing, to regard Hindi *ḍol* as a loan-word from Semitic, especially because *ḍol* forms its diminutive, *ḍolcī*, by adding a (partly) foreign suffix *-cī*.]

dulā- then, remains only tentatively explained as "the staggering one." The variant *bulā*-, found in the Maitrāyaṇī, however, is easier to derive. For, we have a lexical $\sqrt{\textit{bul}}$ "to dive, to sink, to plunge" with its Caus. $\sqrt{\textit{bolay}}$ "to cause, to sink, submerge," mentioned in the Dhātupāṭha 10·62, and in the Kṣīrataraṅgiṇī (Indische Forschungen 8-9), p. 175, (See Monier Williams s.v.). The Kṣīra. further notes the derivatives *bola-bolana*- and *bolita*-. The Kāśikā on Pāṇini 4·2· 80 also mentions a *bula*- in the balādi gaṇa. *bulā*- can easily be derived from this root. "The plunging one" or "the submerging one" will be a fitting designation of a rain-goddess, and will be in keeping with *abhráyantī*, *varṣáyantī*, etc.

It is to be noted that whereas OIA. √*bul* and its derivatives are, except for the *bulā-* of the Maitrāyaṇī, only lexical, its MIA. and NIA. descendants are real, living words of everyday occurrence. Thus we have MIA. *buḍḍa-*, *bola-*, and *bolia* occurring in many a text (see Pàia-Sadda-Mahaṇṇavo, s. v.), and the familiar NIA. *būḍanā* (Hindi), *budavũ* (Gujarati), *buḍanu* (Nepali), etc. (See Turner, Nepali Dictionary s.v.). Of the latter, Hindi has changed, through metathesis, *būḍanā* into *ḍūbanā*.

sārάya- occurs in the Āpastamba Mantrabrāhmaṇa 2·16·12, as an Adjective to *mύsala-* "pestle." The passage refers to two evil beings which are sought to be smashed with pestle and mortar :

té ahám sārάyeṇa mύsalenā'va hanmy ulūkhalé.

It will not be advisable to derive *sārάya-* from the causative form of √*sṛ* "to move" and to interpret it as "that which drives (the demons) away." For, this meaning of *sārάya-* would not accord with *ava hanmy ulūkhalé* "I smash down in the mortar." The evil beings are sought to be destroyed here, not merely driven away. *sārάya-*, therefore, is much better explained as a compound of *sa-* + *ārάya-*, *ārάya-* being derived from the causative form of √*ṛ*, which, besides the familiar meaning "to go, to move," has also the meaning "to wound, to hurt" (Śatapatha Br. 7·3·2·14) and "to pierce" (Atharava Veda). *āraya-* then would mean "that which hurts or pierces," and hence, in all probability "the iron tip fixed to a pestle."

ārάya- has a number of cognate words in OIA, MIA and NIA, and even in Avesta. Thus we have, besides *ā'rta-* "suffering, injured," *ā'rti-* "pain, injury" and *ā'ruka-* "hurting, injuring" (Taitt, Araṇyaka 1·5·2), also *ā'ra-* and *ā'rā-* "awl, bore, pricker" in OIA ; *ala-*, *alaya-* "the sting of a scorpion," *ala-paṭṭa-* "a weapon shaped like the sting of scorpion," *aliṇa-* "a scorpion", *ārā-* "iron tip fixed to a goad" in the MIA (see Wackernagel, Altind. Gramm. I, §194 a, p. 222 and Pāia-Sadda-Mahaṇṇavo s.v.) ; and *ār* or *araī* meaning "goad" in modern Hindi. Avesta has *āri-* meaning "pain injury."

The normal causative form of √*ṛ* in OIA is, no doubt, √*arpay*, but Avesta has the form *ārayati*, and OIA itself has similar forms in *kārayati*, *pārayati* etc.

18. Nasal Assimilation in the Dravidian

By Dr. K. Godavarma, M.A., Ph.D., Trivandrum.

A few instances of y in Dravidian exhibiting a change to a nasal have been observed by Dr. Caldwell. The typical example he has given is Tamiḷ naman, a loan word from Sk. yama-. The usual explanation given is that the alteration has taken place for purpose of euphony. It is suggested in this paper that all instances of such nasalisation are due to the influence of a nasal occurring anywhere in the word.

Below is given a list of words I have collected illustrating nasal assimilation. It will be found that besides y and r, l, ḷ, l, v and occasionally b also, are susceptible to such nasalisation.

Tam. naman lw. Sk. yama-; Tam. & Mal. nukam lw. Sk. yuga- ;
y Tam, naṇṭm, Mal. ñaṇṭə 'crab, cancer' ⌊ * yaṇḍ - cf. Tel. eṇḍri
and Kan. eṇḍrakāyi ; Mal. nīntu and Coorg mīndu 'to swim' cf. Tel.
Idu ; Coorg moṇa 'hare' cf. Mal. muyal.

Mal. nirmāṇam 'nudity' a secondary sense derived from the naked
v state of mendicants cf. Ka. nirvāṇi 'a person who goes naked and who
is exonerated while living from future birth as well as ritual ceremonies
lw. Sk. nirvāṇa — final emancipation from matter and re-union with the Supreme Spirit' Mal. maṇimaṇṇan 'name prevalent among the Nambūdiri Brāhmans' Sk. Maṇivarṇa- ; Mal. mañci (coll.) from earlier vañci 'boat' ; Mal. maṇaṅṅuka (Krishnagāthā) from earlier valaṅṅuka 'bend, bow' ; Mal. maṇṇa (coll.) from earlier vaṇṇa 'calf of the leg' ; Mal. maṇṇān 'washerman' from earlier vaṇṇān ; Mal. mān'am from earlier vān'am 'sky ; Mal. min'a in min'akēṭ 'state of being unoccupied' from earlier vin'a 'work' ; Mal. miluṅṅuka from earlier viluṅṅka 'devour'; Mal. mēntōnni cf. Tam. vēndōndli 'gloriosa superba' ; Mal. maināṭṭi from earlier vaināṭṭi 'foreign washer-woman' ; Tel. namili 'peacock' cf. Ka. navil ; Ka. maṇagu 'bend' cf. Tam. vaṇaṅgu ; Coorg keminambala for kevinambala.

Tam. akkan'am ⌊ akkaram lw. Pk. akkar'a- ; Mal. peruman'am
r ⌊ perumaram 'a kind of tree' ; Mal. cammaṇam 'a particular
posture i.e. sitting flat and cross-legged' from cammaram cf.
camram paṭiññirikkuka ; Tel. en'umu 'a she-buffalo' cf. Mal. er'uma ; Mal. (coll.) panampə ⌊ parampə 'mat' ; Coorg kāññiṇa for kāññira 'nexvomica' cf. Mal. kāññiram.

Mal. naṅkūr'am lw. Persian lãgūr 'anchor' ; Ka. kāmaṇe for kāmale
l 'a form of jaundice' lw. Sk. kāmalā ; Mal. nampāḷi 'a caste of wan-
dering dealers in corn' lw. Sk. lambāḍa- ; Ka. kuṇḍaṇi for kuṇḍali
'having ear-rings ; Tel. nãgali 'plough' lw. Sk. lāṅgala- Tel. tenuṅgu for

earlier teluṅgu 'The Telugu language'; Tel. munaga for mulaga 'Horse-raddish tree'; Tam. nāṅku 'four' for nālku; Tam. nāñcil 'yoke' lw. Sk. lāṅgala.

Ka. moṇa for earlier mola 'the knee'; Tel. munuṅgu 'to sink'
l cf. Mal. muluku; Ka. maṇagu 'bend' cf. Mal. valaṅṅuka; Mal.
maṇaṅṅuka side by side with malaṅṅuka 'bend'; Mal. miṇuṅṅuka (coll.) for
miluṅṅuka.

Mal. Coll. paṇuṅk∂ for paḷuṅk∂ 'a glittering stone'; paṇāk∂ |_*paḷāk∂
ḷ cf. paḍāk∂ 'cave' Tel. maṇiga 'the frame of a building' cf. Tel.
maḷiga and Ka. miḍiga; Ka. miṇi |_miḷi 'a rope' Ka. moṇa, moḷa
'mosquitoes'; Ka. tāmbāṇa, tāmbāḷa 'a metal, copper or brass plate.'

b There is one instance of b changing to m in Malayāḷam and that
is in the loan word baṅgḷā pronounced colloquially maṅkḷāv∂.

It may be deduced from the above that weakly articulated consonants occurring initially or in the intervocalic position in borrowed as well as inherited words of the Dravidian evince a tendency to turn to a nasal provided the words have a nasal in them elsewhere. Liquids and semi-vowels do not have as much contact as the stops and even among the stops b in Malayāḷam is characterized by the lack of marked occlusion. That may be the reason why it changes to v both in the initial as well as in the intervocalic position in Sanskrit borrowings as vāta for bādhā, veli for Sk. bali.

The discovery of this nasal assimilation is of considerable importance in that it throws much light on the history of personal pronouns in the Dravidian. The pronouns of the first and second person show in them n or ñ as Tam. nān, nī; Mal. ñān, nī; Ka. nānu, nīnu; Tel. nēnu etc. while as verbal terminations they appear as ēn and īn cf. Tamiḷ vandēn 'I came' old Mal. māttinā "you changed." When in conjunction with verbal stems they have remained intact, and while used independently, they have undergone all sorts of phonetic developments. As a result of the tendency to pronounce y in front of initial i, ī, e and ē in the Dravidian ēn and īn developed to yēn and yīn. In the former case there was an opening of the vowel ē to ā. Thus yān and yīn have with the nasal assimilation given the forms with ñ and n in the Dravidian languages. In nī the final n of nīn has disappeared after nasalising ī and later on the nasal pronunciation of the vowel was also lost.

In the copper-plate grant of Śrīvīrarāghavacakravartin and several other historical references a word maṇikkirāman occurs. This has been interpreted to mean a village rich in jewels. But the contexts in which the word occurs definitely shows that it has something to do with trading or traders. I suggested on a previous occasion that maṇikkirāma meant a trader's corporation and that it goes back to Sk. vaṇiggrāma. Here the initial v has been influenced by the following ṇ. Thus the application of the phenomenon discussed has enabled us to interpret correctly a word in history which had hitherto puzzled researchers. How philology can be helpful in solving the problem of history is clearly exemplified in this case.

19. The Śuddhanandaprakaśa

(A Compilation on Nāṭya in Tamil.)

By Dr. V. Raghavan, M.A., Ph.D., Madras.

In connection with my work in Nāṭya Śāstra, I had to examine the material available in Tamil literature on the subject, particularly in the Śilappadikāram and its very informing commentary by Aḍiyārkkunallār. From the latter especially we know the names of some Tamil works on the subject of Nāṭya, from which he also makes quotations in his commentary on the third section describing the debut of courtezan-danseuse, Mādhavī, the Araṅgeṟṟukkādai. But these Nāṭya works are not available. The late Mm. U. V. Swaminatha Ayyar, who edited the epic, with the above mentioned commentary and a briefer earlier one, and was collecting manuscripts also, says in his Preface to his edition of the epic that he could secure only three Tamil manuscripts on music and dance, one of which is the Śuddhānandaprakāśa (p. 12, IInd edition, 1920). As the two other manuscripts relate to Tāla, and this alone to dance, he had to make quotations from it to supplement the information in the commentary, as this was the only Nāṭya work in Tamil that he could secure. These citations from the Śuddhānandaprakāśa which are to be found on pp. 81, 90, 92, 114, 115, 130 of the above edition, led me to enquire about the work and coming to know that Prof. S. Vaiyapuri Pillai had a manuscript of it, I got it on loan from him. I am most thankful to him for the kindness with which he placed the manuscript at my disposal and it is on the basis of that manuscript examined by me that I am giving this account.

In Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. Swaminatha Ayyar's Preface referred to above (p. 12), he says that he got a manuscript of the Śuddhānandaprakāśa from Tillayambūr Somayāji Śrī Veṅkatarāma Ayyaṅgār. I could not get Mm. Ayyar's manuscript to collate it with the manuscript in Mr. Pillai's possession. In the latter, there is no mention of the name of the work as Śuddhānandaprakāśa anywhere, but there is no doubt that it is a manuscript of the same work, as all the passages from the work of that name cited by Mm. Swaminatha Ayyar in his edition of the Śilappadikāram are found here.

In his Preface to the Epic, Mm. Ayyar describes the Śuddhānandaprakāśa as an 'Old Tamil Work'; but in a later lecture of his published in the Vivekabodhinī (21·7) and Śentamil (1928-29, pp. 193-206, Vol. 27), he said of it 'that was a later work.' What is the work like and what exactly is its date? In view of the paucity of Tamil Nāṭya works and the likelihood of some vague ideas prevailing about the anitiquity of this work, it is necessary to examine these points here.

This is a work very much mixed up with Sanskrit, not only in the sources of its information but also in its style, even the Tamil sometimes being written in Grantha script. As we know a good deal of Sanskrit Nāṭya works, we might find out the date of the work from the Sanskrit treatises referred to or quoted in it.

On p. 13 of the manuscript, three works are mentioned, Tāla samudra, Muruval and Ādibharata. Of these the last is Bharata's Nāṭyaśāstra, and it is this basic treatise which is the main authority of the Śuddhānandaprakāśa. On p. 75, the work says that the Ādibharata alone is the authority for Śuddhakrama and that the new Bharata Śāstra works are not authoritative for the Śuddhakrama. These new treatises are mentioned as Umāpatibharata, Pratāparudrīya, (Rasārṇava su) dhākara, and the Śenāvariyam, the last alone being a Tamil work.

The first is the Sanskrit music-dance work available in manuscript in the Madras Government Oriental Manuscripts Library called Aumapātam Gīta Śāstram. As I have shown in my article on later Saṅgīta literature, in the Journal of the Music Academy, Madras, Volume 4, the Saṅgītasudhā of Govinda Dīkṣita (c. 1620) refers to this as a modern work—*Umāpater ādhunikasya tantram.* Its exact date is not yet clear. It is however earlier than Kallinātha who extracts from it.

On p. 75, the work quotes the Maṅgala śloka of the 7th chapter dealing with dance, of the Saṅgītaratnākara of Śārṅgadeva, whose date lies between A.D. 1210-1247.

As noted already, the work cites the Pratāparudrīya on p. 86. This is the well-known Sanskrit Alaṅkāra work, written by Vidyānātha in praise of Kākatīya Pratāparudra (died 1323 A.D.).

Next to the Pratāparudrīya is mentioned a work part of whose name alone is seen in the manuscript. The ". . . . . dhākaram" here is evidently Rasārṇavasudhākara of Śiṅgabhūpāla (c. 1400 A.D.).

It was said above that a verse of the Saṅgītaratnākara is quoted on p. 75 of the work. On further scrutiny, this context in the manuscript shows that five lines of the commentary on the Saṅgītaratnākara by Caturakallinātha are reproduced in the work. Kallinātha wrote under Immaḍi Devarāya of Vijayanagar, A.D. 1446-1465.

On p. 76, a Tamil translation of the Saṅgītaratnākara—Saṅgītaratnākara Ahaval—is quoted. It may be the work in a manuscript in the Tanjore Library, No. 634 (b) of Volume I of the Tamil Manuscripts Catalogue of the Tanjore Library ; but its date is not known.

On p. 61, it gives some anuṣṭubhs defining Maṇḍala, Karaṇa and Angahāra from a writer whose name is written as Nṛtta-sārapa-yogin. I am not able to make out the identity of this author.

The Śuddhānandaprakāśa is thus later than the 15th century A.D. It may be even still later. From p. 84, it adds Telugu also to its medium of expression. We may not therefore be wrong if we suggest that the work was probably compiled in the Nāyak period in Tanjore in the 17th century as a handbook for the Naṭṭuvas or dance-masters, and as such can compare with the compilation Saṅgīta-sangraha-cintāmaṇi of Śrīmuṣṇam Appalācārya in an Adyar Library manuscript, which I have described in my article on later Saṅgīta Literature (Journal of the Madras Music Academy, Vol. 4). It may even be brought down to the times of Maratha court of Tanjore. C. 1700 seems to me to be its likely age.

This, however, should not lead us to suppose that this text is not of much value. It is of considerable importance for one interested in Nāṭya research, containing as it does some very interesting data. It takes from Aḍiyārkkunallār's commentary all the information on Tamil dance and its varieties, takes from Sanskrit and Telugu works, takes also the current forms of dance in vogue in its time, and has presented us some good material. In the manuscript that I have examined, the work is amorphous, ending abruptly, and containing no clue to this author. It is to be regretted that more manuscripts of it are not available.

Taking another occasion to give a detailed account of its contents, I shall draw attention here to a few select points some of which are of interest to the student of Sanskrit Nāṭya Śāstra also, as it developed in later times.

On p. 12, the text enumerates the qualifications required of the Nartaka, which, from context, refers to the dance-master. Of the aspects or varieties or items of dance he is expected to know it is most interesting to find an item mentioned as ALĀRI. Now, in our Carnatic Bharata Nāṭya recital, there is a traditional sequence of items, the opening one being called Alārippu ; in the tradition of Devadasis and their Naṭṭuvamasters, it is called Alārippu, but not even the oldest of them are able to say what this name means. In it, to the recital of mere rhythm-syllables, the danseuse executes a preliminary exercise movements of hands, neck, eyes, and legs, and interwoven in these movements is also an idea, underlined by the ANJALIHASTA that comes in, that the danseuse is expressing salutations to Gods, teachers and the assembly, an idea which according to the Bhāgavata tradition, would justify it being called Sabhā-vandana. It is a pity there is no mention anywhere of a word like Alārippu, and it is in this context that we have to appreciate the value of the occurrence of Alāri, which is doubtless the source of Alārippu, in the Śuddhānandaprakāśa.

On p. 84 of the gloss of Aḍiyārkkunallār, there are some manuscript-gaps, one of which relates to the explanation of the dramatic topic called *Jātis.* Mm. Ayyar fills the gap in the foot-note here by pointing out that Jāti is tenfold and enumerates the ten kinds of drama, Daśarūpaka, given in Sanskrit Nāṭya Śāstra. These ten do not exhaust the major or minor dramatic varieties found in Sanskrit, e.g., we have major varieties like the Nāṭikā derived from the Daśarūpaka, and Tōṭaka, and about twenty minor types referred to as Upa-rūpaka, Sallāpaka, Goṣṭhī, etc. This whole matter of dramatic types as handled by Tamil writers exhibits some difference. If we turn to p. 12 of Aḍiyārkkunallār, we find the heading 'Porul' i.e., Puruṣārtha, under which he mentions Dharma, Artha, Kāma and Mokṣa in their Tamil equivalents, and what is more important, adds that these four are represented by the four dramatic types, Nāṭaka, Prakaraṇa-prakaraṇa, Prakaraṇa, and Aṅka, according to the old Tamil Nāṭya text of Mativāṇanār. What Prakaraṇa-prakaraṇa is and how Aṅka squares with Mokṣa, we are not able to understand. Anyway, four dramatic types having been included here under Porul, we should expect under Jāti an enumeration of types which exclude the three, Nāṭaka, Prakaraṇa and Aṅka. Therefore, the ten kinds of Jāti according to Tamil texts is not what Mm. Ayyar has given, in close conformity to the old or main tradition of Sanskrit texts, but a slightly different list; that such is the case is known from the Śuddhānandaprakāśa which says on p. 53 that by Jāti is understood the ten varieties of drama, *Vāra*, Īhāmṛga, Samavakāra, Ḍima, Vyāyoga, Bhāṇa, Vīthī, Sallāpa, Utsṛṣṭikāṅka and Prahasana. This should have been the correct enumeration in the gap on Jāti in Aḍiyārkkunallār's commentary on p. 84.

But what is the Aṅka under Puruṣārtha and Utsṛṣṭikāṅka under Jāti? And why this two-fold enumeration at all? In this latter list, we have two types, *Vāra* and *Sallāpa* added to make up for the omission, or more correctly separation of the Nāṭaka and Prakaraṇa, which are included under Puruṣārtha. Of these the Sallāpa is a definite Uparūpaka of Sanskrit; regarding Vāra, there is controversy and it will not be possible to go into it now. Suffice it to point out that this kind of enumeration too has basis in Sanskrit texts. As is borne out by evidences in the extracts from the early Nāṭya writers like Mātṛgupta and the Buddhist Rāhula, and the Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakośa of Sāgaranandin, a valuable repository of rare views, we had traditions in Nāṭyaśāstra which differed from Bharata on some topics. Some of these differences might have grown out of some suggestive observations of Bharata himself. To this class belongs this different enumeration of the ten dramatic types. As I have pointed out in my paper on Vṛttis and Daśarūpaka in the JOR, Madras, the Nāṭaka and the Prakaraṇa are described by Bharata as the perfection, as Pūrṇavṛtti-rūpakas; in them are comprehended all the dramatic tendencies that go to distinguish the other varieties severally. It is from this idea that the tradition arose of separating the complete types of Nāṭaka and Prakaraṇa, as the common source of all dramatic forms, and enumerating the ten kinds as derived therefrom, as excluding those two and including two others. Exactly as we have it in Tamil texts, we have this in the prologue to the Bhagavad-ajjukīya prahasana, which, as the famous Māmaṇḍūr inscription shows beyond doubt, was, like the Mattavilāsa prahasana, a work of the Pallava king Mahendravikrama of Kāñcī. The Sūtradhāra says here in the prologue.

नाटकप्रकरणोद्भवासु वार-ईहामृग-डिम-समवकार-व्यायोग-भाण-सल्लाप-वीथी-उत्सृष्टिकाङ्क-प्रहसनादिषु दशजातिषु

The word *Jāti* used here and the inclusion of Vāra and Sallāpa to make-up the ten,—all of which are found reproduced in the Tamil works, should be noted.

20. Andhra Bhoja A. Tygaraja Mudaliar

By N. Vetanka Rao, M.A., Head of the Telugu Department

In these days of the revival of Dravidian Languages, it is a matter worthy of investigation and research, as to how the Tamilians in general, and Pallais and Mudaliars in particular, as poets and patrons, helped Telugu Renaissance from the advent of East India Company and the Victorian age, down to modern times in Telugu literature. Among them, the names of Anandaranga Pallai, the famous Dubash of Dupleix, the French governor of Pondicherry to whom Kasturi Rangkavi, his court poet and musician dedicated the last great work on Telugu Prosody known as Anandarangaratchandamu, alias Lakshanachudamani ; Tirukkalatti Mudaliar of Chengalpat the patron of Marupeddi Chengalvarayakavi, author of Charuchandrodaya, a fine specimen of Telugu Prabandha ; Komaleswarapu Sreenivasa-Pallai, the friend and biographer of Yenugula Veeraswamy of Kasiyatra Charitra fame ; Velundura Somasundararama Pillai under whose patronage, the complete edition for the first time of the 18 parvams of Telugu Mahabharata was printed and published ; Matturu Appavu Mudali the author of Matru Sataka, unsurpassed in Telugu Literature for treatment of motherly love and affection ; T. S. Murugesam Pillai, an excellent Telugu prose writer, who wrote the life of Kamban and other essays regarding Tamil Culture ; and last, but not the least, Andhra Bhoja Tygaraja Mudali, flash on my mind.

By birth a Tamilian and by profession an Engineer, Tyagaraja Mudali occupies a prominent place in the Telugu Literary world. The very fact that the late K. Veerasalingam Pantulu in his lives of Telugu Poets (Part 3) in 1898, gave him a place and written his life is a clear proof of his merit as a great Telugu Poet. But half a century ago, the details of the life of this Tamil genius were not available. I have given for the first time his life in Telugu[1] and for the benefit of Tamilians I am now giving the life in English.

Tyagaraja Mudali was born on 19th Aug. 1833 to Janakammal and Narayana Mudali near Anantapur where his father was employed in the Marammath dept. (Modern P. W. D.). From the age of three, like Macaulay, Tyagaraja Mudali began the 3 Rs. the study of mother tongue Tamil. A curious story is recorded by him for his taking up Telugu study. It seems that when he was about three years, his mother Janakammal chided him in a language (Telugu) not known to him and this caused such an annoyance for the precious child that from that day onwards, he incessantly began to read Telugu, and master the language. Such was his grasp and memory that when he was hardly fifteen years old he became proficient in Tamil, Telugu, Sanskrit and English. By the time he was twenty, he became an adept in fine arts like Painting, Poetry, Science, Medicine, Agriculture and Engineering. He acquainted himself with Kannada and Marathi languages, and first became a lawyer. But soon he left this and joined the P. W. D. after the death of his father. He started his life as an overseer and rose to the position of an Engineer. At the instance of Sir Salar Jung Bahadur, the well-known Premier of Hyderabad, he accepted an Engineer's position in Telingana. He served the state with great distinction. He died on 3rd June 1879 when he was barely forty-six years old.

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[1] Annual Number of Andbra Patrica 1944-1945. Pages 103-108.

For a specimen of his poetical skill see extract 32 verses from Sabha Parva given by me in the appendex.

Tyagaraja Mudali wrote works in Tamil and Telugu; but the greatest number is in Telugu. Not less than twenty-two works were written by him and out of them four only are printed. Even those printed are very rare and two of them are preserved in the British Museum Library in London.—(Vide Catalogue of Telugu Books in the British Museum Library. Page 255.)

1. Panipakalambakam—Tamil

Telugu Stuti Kavyas

(1) Ajasivasuktimala (2) Sivanandalahari (3) Bhuvaneswari Stavamu (4) Sivanandaratnaratnakaramu (5) Somaskandastavamu.

Khanda Kavyas

(1) Kaumudi Pracharamu (2) Skandanandana Kandalanamu (3) Vijayavijayamu (4) Bahuleyaphalakamu.

Mahakavyas

(1) Naishadhanandalahari (2) Tygarajavijayamu (3) Subramanyavijayamu.

Scientific Works in Poetry

(1) Kandarpadarpadarapanamu (Erotics) (2) Aswavilasamu (Science of Horses) (3) Vyavasayasastramu (Agriculture) (4) Bhashayoshabhushanamu (Grammar) (5) Rasanikarasamvadam (6) Promodaprasleshamu (7) Srinagaratarangarangam (Poetics) (8) Andhralakshanakavisomalekara—Prosody (9) Ratnakaramu Sulakshanaksheerahamsavatamsamu-Prosody. (10) Kusalakularatnaratnakasamu (Fine arts.) (11) Chennapuridambikavidambamu-(Social Study of Madras Life) (12) Kaivalyahaiyangavinamu (Vedanta).

The above list of works, containing translations of Sanskrit originals, Champukavyas, works relating Grammar, Prosody and politics, works on purely technical sciences-Veterinary Science and Agriculture-evidently brings to our mind the vast range of Tyagaraja Mudali's poetical talent and scholarship. Among the above works Vidvatkavenamritam alias Subrahmanya Vijayamu is well known. It is a poem in 5 Asvas on the legends and cult of God Subrahmanya. It is thoroughly classical in style and so much appreciated by the Pandits and scholars that they honoured him by giving the title of Amritakavi Chakravarti and Andhra Bhoja. It is printed in 1859 in Madras in Varthamanatarangini Press by Late P. Venkatarao, the wellknown Telugu Printer.

Chandroratnakaram was another work relating to Telugu prosody which treats of meters of Telugu poetry, their structure and associations of ideas, supposed to be conveyed by them. This is also printed in the above press.

Rasanikarasamvadamu :—An essay in Telugu poetry on the benefits of intellectual education and on the evil of early marriages, to the Indian weak-sex. This work is printed by A. Devasikhamani Mudaliar his sons at Sri Yakshni Press Bellary in 1865 and I possess a copy of this work. The value of the work lies in the fact that Tyagaraja Mudaliar first sponsored the movement of female education and female uplift when Veeresalingam, the great Telugu social reformer was only in his teens.

The Telugu Mahabharata : Yet the greatest of his works is the Telugu Mahabharata ; being proficient in many languages Tyagaraja Mudali's searching study of Mahabharata in Sanskrit, Telugu, Tamil and Canarese literatures, besides Jaiminibharatam, and other allied Bharatams, resulted in writing the Mahabharatam in Telugu in the classical model of Champukavya independently. This is the attempt of an independent version of the great epic in modern age, after the famous Kavitraya—Nanaya, Tikkana and Errana (1050-1350 A.D.).

A literal translation is first attempted in 1913, the famous Sanskrit and Telugu Scholar the late, Akundi Vyasamurty Sastry, who completed 13 parvams which has not seen the light of day. Afterwards Maha-Mahopadhaya Kalaprapurna Kavisarvabhouma Sripada Krishnamurty Sastry began translation, completed 18 parvams and it is now available in print.

The plan of Tyagaraja Mudali Mahabharata is as follows :

1. The 18 parvams of Mahabharata were divided into 4 major parvams known as :

(a) Prakrama Parva—consisting of Adi and first half of Sabha.

(b) Pradvesha Parva—Second half of Sabha, Aranya, Virata, and Udyoga first half.

(c) Pradhana Parva—Second half of Udyoga, Bhishma, Drona, Karna, Salya and Souptika.

(d) Prasamana Parva—Stri Parva to Swargarohana.

2. The story of the Pandavas and the other stories relating to them have been given elaborately and other upakhyanas are given briefly to keep intact the general high literary tone of the work.

3. To keep the classical standard in style he uses Sanskrit and Telugu meters with equal felicity of expression, he being the author of a work on Telugu Prosody.

4. The most important innovation is the giving genealogical tables, Maps, and Plans. In Adiparva, the list of names of the Lunar race is omitted and it is shown as an appendix at the end of the work in the form of a Genealogical Tree. Being an Engineer by profession he has given maps of the geographical positions of the great battle and places mentioned in Aranya and Bhishma Parvams. Being proficient in pictorial art he has given the various vyuhas or various modes of warfare.

From the foregoing it is evident that the work is far superior to the modern literal translations of the Mahabharata ; and exhibits phenomenal poetical skill of Tyagaraja Mudali and his rare genius.

It is most unfortunate that such a work has not seen the light of day. I appeal to both Telugu and Tamil scholars to investigate for the manuscript in the Telingana Province where he served and at Bellary where he resided and where I understand his descendants are still alive.

21. Uddyotakara As A Vaiśesika

By A. L. Thakur, Manbhum, Bihar.

The relation between the Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika systems is as old as the systems themselves. They are technically called allied schools—*Samānatantras*. The sūtras have many things in common. The exegetical literature of each system freely quotes and refers to the views of the other in its own support.

As time went on the relation deepened and finally both the systems synthesised themselves into the Neo-logical school of Mithila and Bengal.

The treatment of Vaiśeṣika sūtras and tenets in the *Nyāyavārtika* of Uddyotakara deserves special attention. The Vaiśeṣika sūtras received less attention of the commentators than the *Padārthadharmasaṁgraha* of Praśastapāda, which is based upon these sūtras and has systematised the categories in a much more effective way. Of the few commentaries on the sūtras, some are known only in name. Some have occasionally been quoted and criticised in other philosophical works. Śaṅkara Miśra's *Vaiśeṣikasūtropaskara* heads the list of the rest that have been fully preserved.

Uddyotakara while commenting on the Nyāya-sūtras in the above-mentioned work has touched almost all the Vaiśeṣika categories and some subdivisions thereof, making significant remarks about them. He has quoted some Vaiśeṣika sūtras while some have been partially explained. These explanations are few in number and fragmentary in character. Nevertheless they are important to the students of Indian logic as they constitute the oldest extant explanations on the sūtras. In some cases our author refutes the current explanations and puts forward his own explanation instead. These views of Uddyotakara have been closely followed by Śaṅkara Miśra who seems to have no good commentary on the sūtras before him.[1]

While explaining Gotama's definition of doubt (Saṁśaya) Uddyotakara quotes by way of comparison the Vaiśeṣika definition सामान्यप्रत्यक्षाद् विशेषाप्रत्यक्षाद् विशेषस्मृतेश्च संशयः V.S. II. 17.

He remarks here that the expression सामान्यप्रत्यक्षात् means 'from the perception of an object possessing generality' and not 'from the perception of generality' simply. Some held that the expressions विशेषाप्रत्यक्षात् and विशेषस्मृतेः in the Sūtra are redundant and सामान्यप्रत्यक्षात् संशयः constitutes the definition as 'nobody remembers particularities which are perceived. Against this Uddyotakara says that the explanation springs from an ignorance of the real import of the Sūtra. विशेषप्रत्यक्षत्व does not mean non-perception of particularities, but अव्यवस्थितविशेषत्व which Vācaspati Miśra further explains with the expression साधकबाधकप्रमाणाभाव :— a case where means of proof or disproof are wanting.

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[1] सूत्रमात्रावलम्बेन निरालम्बेऽपि गच्छतः। खे खेलवन्ममाप्यत्र साहसं सिद्धिमेष्यति।
Upaskara. Intro. Verse 3.

While explaining *avayavin* (body composed of parts) Uddyotakara remarks that colour-*rūpa* and extension—*mahattva* are the conditions of perception. Some *paramāṇus* (ultimate particles) have colour but no extension hence they are not perceived. Touch etc. are irregular in character. So they cannot be regarded as conditions of perception while colour and extension are regular and must be regarded as such.

In support of this view he quotes two Vaiśeṣika sūtras[2] (1) अद्रव्यवत्त्वात् परमाणावनुपलब्धि : & (2) रूपसंस्काराभावाद् वायोरनुपलब्धि :—...... and explains रूपसंस्कार as inherence of colour ! Here Śaṅkara Miśra concurs with our author while Jayanārāyaṇa, a modern commentator on the Vaiśeṣika sūtras slightly differs.[3]

In the same context while trying to establish conjunction as a separate entity, Uddyotakara remarks that it is wrong to argue that if a dependent action produces conjunction then it is in contradiction with the Vaiśeṣika sūtra एकद्रव्यमगुणं संयोगविभागयोरनपेक्षकारणं कर्म I. i. 17. The contradiction is apparent only. It arises from a non-comprehension of the import of the sūtra. It means to say that independent activity is a condition of conjunction and disjunction. But this independence is not absolute as every activity must at least pre-suppose its substratum. Activity does not presuppose some other antecedent condition (पश्चाद्-भावि निमित्तान्तरम्) to produce conjunction and disjunction. A substance when produced pre-supposes, apart from the component parts, a conjunction between them. When activity and quality are produced, a conjunction pre-supposes tendency (संस्कार), effort (प्रयत्न) and unseen result (अदृष्ट). Again colour etc. in the cause, in order to produce them in the effect, pre-suppose the origin of the effect. But activity, to produce conjunction and disjunction does not depend on any such other condition. Here independence of activity is to be understood in this sense.

The opponent would contend that an activity depends on disjunction when conjunction is to be effected. No activity can produce conjunction without causing a disjunction.

To this Uddyotakara's retort is that disjunction when produced suspends the former conjunction. After this suspension of conjunction, activity produce conjunctions as the resistance is removed (प्रतिबन्धापगमात्). The Śāstra says that unconditional heaviness produces activity.[4] And yet the conjunction of the fruit and the stalk is suspended as a result of mutual separation and thereafter heaviness being free from obstacles, makes the fruit fall. Similar is the case of action which produces conjunction and the antecedent disjunction is only removed of obstacle.

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[2] These sūtras are not found in the extant Vaiśeṣika sūtra as such. The first is related to V. S. IV. i. 6 while the second is a part of V. S. IV. i. 7. Such irregularities in the reading of the sūtras are often met with.

[3] रूपसंस्कारपदेन रुपसमवाय :—Upaskara.
and रूपसंस्कार : संस्कृतं रूपम् Vivṛti.

Again, a cloth is produced by several conjunctions of threads. When it is torn into two pieces, a few conjunctions are destroyed while others remain intact. These remaining conjunctions are the cause of the new pieces and they do not depend on any disjunction. Hence the opponent's contention must be false and there is no contradiction in the sūtra.

When explaining the definition of *Jalpa*, Uddyotakara raises the question of *atideśa*—extension of some expressions of a former sūtra to a latter one. According to him expressions directly connected with the latter sūtra are to be extended and not the unconnected ones. In support to this, he quotes two Vaiśeṣika sūtras :

> अनेकद्रव्यसमवायाद् रूपविशेषाच्च रूपोपलब्धि: IV i. 8.
> अनेन रसगन्धस्पर्शेषु ज्ञानं व्याख्यातम् IV i. 9.

Here the expression रूपविशेष has nothing to do with the latter sūtra. But अनेकद्रव्यसमवाय (inherence in many objects) is equally connected with the perception of colour, taste, smell and touch. Hence the latter expression is to be understood as referred to by the word *anena*.

Explaining the definition of *tarka*, our author says that change of case ending—(विभक्तिव्यत्यय) in a sūtra can be admitted for the sake of meaning. He cites इषावयुगपत् संयोगविशेषा: कर्मान्यत्वे हेतवः V. S. V. i. 16 as an example. Here the 7th case-ending in इषौ has been used in the sense of the 6th. The change conveys a new meaning. It shows that not only the arrow but also the parts thereof are also indicated and the sūtra means that special non-simultaneous conjunctions of the parts together with such conjunctions of the arrow itself are the conditions of different actions.

Here Śaṅkara Miśra agrees with our author. But Jayanārāyaṇa differs.[5]

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[4] गुरुत्वं निरपेक्षं कर्मकारणमित्युद्दिष्टं शास्त्रे—Nyāyavārtika p. 482. This is not found in the Vaiśeṣika sūtra. But our author seems to refer to the Vaiśeṣika philosophy by the word 'Śāstra'. Moreover, the passage in question has a close resemblance to संयोगाभावाद् गुरुत्वात् पतनम् V. S. V. i. 7.

[5] व्यत्यय: कस्मात्। यदि व्यत्ययेन कश्चिदर्थो लभ्यते युक्तो व्यत्यय:। यथा तस्मिन्नेव इषावयुगपत् संयोगविशेषा इति अधिकरणार्थ:। इषोरपि येऽवयवास्तेषामपि संयोगविशेषास्तेऽपि कर्मान्यत्वे हेतव:। N. Var. P. 325-26. इषाविति षष्ठ्यर्थे सप्तमी Upaskata. इषौ धनुर्मुक्तशरे Vivṛti.

The opponent contends that the notion of concordance (अनुवृत्तिप्रत्यय) which is held as the basis of generality, exists in different cowness, horseness etc. for we may point out to them as this is a generality 'and' that is another generality ! But there is no higher generality in which these lower ones can be included. He further contends that the acceptance of the position that generality inheres in other generalities goes against the Vaiśeṣika sūtra सामान्यविशेषेषु सामान्यविशेषाभावात् तत एव ज्ञानम् VIII 1·5.

Our author retorts that the anomaly is due to a wrong idea about the meaning of the sūtra. It means that just as the idea of a substance, qualified by substancehood, arises with regard to a substance, no such idea of generality qualified by generalityhood arises with regard to a generality. The sūtra does not mean that the notion of concordance is unconditional. The condition here is 'inherence in many objects.'

Uddyotakara has his own opinion with regard to the question of darkness—'has it a real content or is it without the same' ? He opines that to hold it as without a content is contrary to facts. On the other hand, the opponent argues that to hold it with a real content goes against the Vaiśeṣika sūtra द्रव्यगुणकर्मनिष्पत्तिवैधर्म्याद् भाऽऽभावस्तम: V. ii. 16.

Uddyotakara says that this doubt also is due to a non-comprehension of the meaning of the sūtra. Substance, quality and activity from which relation of light is obstructed are called darkness. Darkness has these as its content. Hence there is no contradiction.

According to Dignāga, a Buddhist Logician, a proposition like 'Sound is eternal' is fallacious to a Vaiśeṣika. It is '*āgamaviruddha*'—contrary to scriptures. But Uddyotakara says that it is not contrary to scriptures as the Vaiśiṣikas do not establish transitoriness of sound from scriptural evidence. Inference, supported by कारणत: and विकारात्। (cf. V.S. II ii. 282-29[6]) establishes the same. So instead of calling the proposition 'contrary to scripture' one should call it 'contrary to inference'—*anumānaviruddha*.

In addition to these we now propose to give a list of Uddyotakara's reference to and quotations from the Vaiśeṣika sūtras.

सदादिना निर्मक्तस्य	Nyāya	Vārtika	P.	241	V. s. I.	1·8
सदादि सामान्यम्	,,	,,	P.	980	,,	
क्रियावदादिविशेष:	,,	,,	P.	980	I. i.	15
यन्निरपेक्षं संयोगविभागकारणं तत् कर्म	,,	,,	P.	200	I. i.	17
कार्यस्य कारणवत्त्वात्	,,	,,	P.	744	I. ii.	1&2
सामान्यदर्शनं विशेषाव्यवस्थाविशेषस्मृतिश्च समूह इति संशयस्य कारणम्	,,	,,	P.	383	II. ii.	17

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[6] Corresponding Vaiśeṣika sūtras run thus (1) अनित्यश्चायं कारणत: and न चासिद्धं विकारात्.

विद्याऽविद्याद्वैविध्यं संशयस्य कारणम्	,,	,,	P. 1044	II. ii.	20
संयोगविभागशब्देषु सत्सु शब्दो भवति	,,	,,	P. 888	II. ii.	31
यस्माद्विषाणी तस्मादश्व :	,,	,,	P. 228	III. i.	16
अश्वोऽयं विषाणित्वात्	,,	,,	P. 296	,,	
अश्वो विषाणित्वात्	,,	,,	P. 285	,,	
गौर्विषाणित्वात्	,,	,,	P. ,,	III. i.	17
प्रत्यात्ममात्मा प्रत्यक्ष :	,,	,,	P. 221	III. ii.	14
महदनेकद्रव्यरूपाण्युपलब्धिकारणानि	,,	,,	P. 470	IV. i.	6
महदनेकद्रव्यवत्वाद्रूपवत्वाच्चोपलब्धि :	,,	,,	P. 765	,,	
प्रत्यक्षाप्रत्यक्षाम्याभारम्भादप्रत्यक्ष :	,,	,,	P. 448	IV. ii.	2
न पंचात्मकं किंचिदस्ति		,,	P. 745	,,	
भूतसंसर्गोऽविप्रतिषिद्ध :		,,	P. 753	IV. ii.	4
आत्मसंयोगप्रयत्नाभ्यां हस्ते कर्म		,,	P. 957	V. i.	1
गुरुत्वं निरपेक्षं कर्मकारणम्		,,	P. 482	V. i.	7
नोदनामिधातसंयुक्तसंयोगाच्च पृथिव्यां कर्म		,,	P. 495	V. ii.	1

Uddyotakara incidentally refers to many other things which are directly or indirectly connected with the Vaiśeṣika categories. Some of these seem to have been borrowed from him by the latter Vaiśeṣikas. We propose to collect here such views of our author.

A compound object is made from a simultaneous conjunctions of its parts (948). The cause precedes an effect (761). An effect must have a substratum (436,525) and there is no instance of an effect without it (424). Every effect must have some causes (744) which admit of a threefold classification (210) inherent, non-inherent and auxiliary. No effect arises from a single cause. The auxiliary helps the other two (943). So long as the destructive force does not present itself, the substance remains intact (723). Light is not momentary. It exists for five consecutive moments. Nothing is destroyed without a cause of destruction (833). A substance having a cause is destroyed (836). According to Kāśyapa, the same conjunction of fire that destroyed the former colour of a substance does not produce another colour after chemical action. But a different conjunction is required for the purpose (836).

The earth has smell as its specific quality (25). Embodied ultimate particles of earth etc. can obstruct such particles of light. When this obstruction gains in volume, it is called shade and when the same obstruction comes from all sides it is called darkness (1071). Darkness presupposes substance, quality and action. These on the other hand, without any relation with light are called darkness (702). When the object obstructing light moves on, perceived substance, qualified by the non-conjunction of light is called shade (386).

Light (tejas) has colour and touch (768). It is of four kinds : (1) that which has manifested-colour and manifested-touch, (2) that which has manifested-colour but unmanifested-touch, (3) that which has unmanifested-colour but manifested-touch, and (4) that which has colour and touch both unmanifested (767).

Ultimate particles (परमाणु) of earth etc. are incapable of division into parts. These mark the limit of division and are eternal. A substance is destroyed by the destruction of its cause or from the separation of the component parts. None of these is admissible with regard to the ultimate particle since it is no effect (1063). Again, division means desolution into smaller parts. The question of division ends when ultimate particle is reached. If we accept the existence of parts in an ultimate particle, they must be smaller than itself. But it has been defined as the ultimate unit and the smallest part. Hence it admits of no further division (1068). These ultimate particles are invisible (503). They have no inner or outer parts (1061).

Ākāśa is all-pervasive (518). The organ of hearing is made of it (266). It has six qualities (951).

Time also is all-pervasive (519). The idea of existence of substance, quality and activity proves the existence of the present time (523). But time is really one (519).

Space is imperceptible as it has no colour (150).

Soul acts independently and enjoys the fruits of its action. This independence (कर्तृत्व) consists of knowledge, will and effort while enjoyment (भोक्तृत्व) the knowledge of weal or woe (726). It is perceived by each individual (221).

The supreme soul (ईश्वर) has six qualities—number, quantity, otherness, conjunction, disjunction and intellect (951). Further, he has unimpared desire (152). He sets the *paramāṇus* in motion according to the merits and demeits of animals and their enjoyment is fulfilled thereby (719).

Mind is as small as an aṇu (727). It is neither material nor immaterial.

Quality has no existence independent of substance (777). It must have a substratum (733). It is distinct from the object in which it inheres (721). It is destroyed by the destruction of the substratum or by the appearance of a contradictory quality (855). Colour, taste, smell, touch and sound are called special qualitities as they help us to distinguish objects which possess them from others (793). Number, size, individuality, conjunction, disjunction, priority, posteriority, viscidity (*Sneha*) and velocity are called dependent qualities[7] (204). An embodied object has two kinds of qualities (1) colour etc. which are perceptible to the external sense organs and (2) heaviness which is outside the scope of them (894). Relation is included in the qualities (676), so are crookedness and straightness which spring from contraction and expansion respectively (721). Colour is the cause of perception and not touch (453).

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[7] Here Uddyotakara equates *Guṇa* with *Dharma* and includes activity, generality and particularity in the list.

Relation with fire is not the only cause of colour produced after chemical action. Particularities in the former colour are also conditions thereof (200).

Number is a distinct entity. The ideas of singularity and plurality spring from it (210-11).

Size in a non-pervasive object is of six kinds (1065). Largeness in an object arises out of the largeness, plurality and slight union (प्रचय) in its constituents (764). An object made of one ultimate unit cannot have largeness (471). Size lasts as long as the object exists (723). It inheres in one object only (235).

Conjunction means union of things once separate (1065). It is a distinct entity (480). Slight union is a special kind of it and forms another distinct entity (212). There is no conjunction without a prior disjunction (612). Conjunction of an object produced by actively (कार्यद्रव्य) with *ākāśa* arises either from (1) another conjunction or from (2) activity while the conjunction of such an object with an ultimate particle arises from activity alone (662). Conjunction does not cover a whole area (611) and it is not an independent cause of substance, quality or activity (227).

Disjunction means the removal of cover (10001). It is the separation of things which were in union (10002).

Heaviness cannot be perceived by means of sense organs (894). The cause of the fall of objects of equal heaviness is sometimes heaviness, effort and throwing, sometimes the former two, and sometimes the first alone (845). Heaviness in rain water is obstructed by conjunction of clouds and air (574). Heaviness with its auxiliary causes a slow fall. But when the obstacle is removed, the fall becomes rapid (845).

Any apprehension with regard to any entity is called knowledge (814). It is a quality of the soul (454). The Vaiśeṣikas support the proposition : sound is transitory by a two-fold reason (1) 'since it is produced' and (2) 'since it is perceived by an outer sense-organ' (285). Inference is of three kinds : (1) positive (अन्वयी) (2) Negative (अतिरेकी) and (3) positive-negative (अन्वय-व्यतिरेकी) (144). Contact between the object and the sense organ are of six kinds—(1) conjunction (संयोग) (2) inherence in that which is in conjunction (संयुक्तसमवाय) (3) inherence in that which inheres in that which is in conjunction (संयुक्तसमवेतसमवाय) (4) inherence (समवाय), (5) relation of qualification (विशेषणता) (94-5).

The existence of pleasure which can be apprehended by everybody (183) cannot be denied (224).

Desire is a quality.

The faculty (संस्कार) does a work efficiently due to the efficiency of its auxiliaries. The inefficiency in the auxiliaries leads to an inefficient result though the faculty is the same (845).

Sound has ākāśa for its substratum (524 597, & 638). It does not cover the whole of ākāśa (611). It is transitory (365) and is produced from conjunction and disjunction (96 & 241). In a series of sounds the latter destroys the former one (856). The last sound in the series deos not produce any other sound as in the former cases (1138). "Sound has a substratum as it is perceived by our eyes" is a fallacious argument according to the Vaiśeṣikas.

Activity is of two kinds (1) Upward movement (उत्क्षेपण) etc. and (2) that expressed by conjugated roots (948). Activity in the hand is produced from the contact of the soul and the hand. The active hand then touches the pair of tongs and moves the iron through it (957).

Generality finds no scope if there is no diversity (991). One accepting generality must accept particularity also (992). Generality inheres in all objects included in the class. Sattā (being) covers substance, quality, and activity and it is a generality (268). The word *sat* (existent) includes all these three (672). The scope of generality is wide while that of particularity is narrow (239). *Sattā* is perceived by all sense-organs.

Inherence is the relation between the container and the contained as well as of the part and the whole (1000). Cowness is present in the cow by this relation as there is the idea of 'this is in that' (669). Inherence is not dependent (अनाश्रित 204) and has no further inherence (158 etc.). It is eternal and can be perceived by all the organs of sense (204).

A positive entity with a cause is sure to be destroyed (835). Antecedent and subsequent non-existences are absent when the object exists (312 & 1031). In antecedent non-existence the cause is absent while in subsequent non-existence destruction is wanting (608). Non-existence unlike a positive entity is sometimes destroyed if there is no cause and sometimes it is not destroyed when the cause is present (835). Non-existence also can be perceived by all the organs of sense (204).

It is not known if Uddyotakara had any work on Vaiśeṣika philosophy. There was a *Bharadrāja vṛtti* on the Vaiśeṣika Sūtras and Uddyotakara was a *Bharadrāja*. But nothing as yet has been found to prove his identity with the author of the Vṛtti.

V. A LIST OF PAPERS

Read before the 15th session, published in the J. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. 26.

The first figure refers to the section and the second to the serial number of the Paper as shown on pp. 29-37.

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VII. AN INTERIM STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS

(Upto the 31st December, 1950).

Receipts	Rs. as. ps.
Reception Committee Membership (264 members at Rs. 15 each)	3,960 0 0
Ordinary Membership (441 members at Rs. 10 each)	4,410 0 0
Life Membership (7 members at Rs. 100 each	700 0 0
Donations	12,237 0 0
	21,307 0 0
Advertisement Charges	210 0 0
Interest	16 5 0
Miscellaneous	10 0 0
Total	21,543 5 0

Payments		Rs. as. ps.
Life Subscription paid to General Secretary		700 0 0
Entertainment		3,667 12 0
Transport		814 7 0
Messing charges Vegetarian	1,763 4 0	
Non-vegetarian	255 6 0	
	2,018 10 0	
Less : Amount collected from Delegates :		
Vegetarian	1,040 0 0	
Non-Vegetarian	300 0 0	
	1,340 0 0	678 10 0
Decoration		302 0 0
Volunteers		1,007 0 0
Exhibition		409 4 0
Excursion	633 2 0	
Less : Amount collected from members	458 0 0	
		175 2 0
Printing and Stationery		5,843 12 6
General Charges		818 14 6
Postage		246 5 3
Amount due		25 0 0
Cash and Bank balances :		
Cash in hand	94 10 9	
In BPC Bank	6,760 7 0	6,855 1 9
Total		21,543 5 0